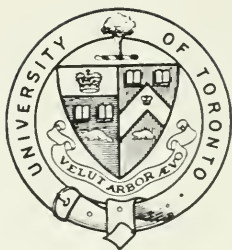


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CATHOLIC STUDIES IN SOCIAL REFORM

A SERIES OF MANUALS

EDITED BY

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD

I.

DESTITUTION

AND

SUGGESTED REMEDIES

WITH PREFACE BY

The Right Rev. Monsignor Henry Parkinson, D.D.,

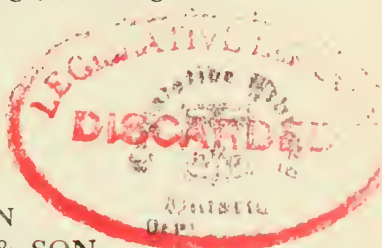
President of Oscott College, Birmingham.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Wise Man wrote, "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety,"¹ he presumably had in view a society wherein the fundamental principles of belief and conduct were not in dispute. Nowadays his assertion cannot be accepted without much qualification. In matters of purely temporal concern, it is doubtless prudent to hear every side before coming to a decision; but in matters affected by the unchanging moral law, the same prudence suggests recourse to whatever authority exists to preserve and interpret that law. Catholics believe that they have such an authority in the Church of Rome, and to the teaching of that Church they naturally turn when faced with any project of political or social reform which has a moral bearing. In the multitude of counsellors that beset them, safety, they feel, lies in following that one in whom the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom permanently abides.

The series of Manuals on Social Questions, of which the present volume is the first to appear, has been planned by the Catholic Social Guild with the express object of examining current problems of citizenship in the light of Christian principles, thus furnishing, for the benefit of those who are bewildered by the number and variety of the social panaceas proposed, some means of distinguishing what is ethically sound from what is

¹ Prov. xi. 14.

based upon false or distorted ideals. As has often been pointed out, it is no part of the Church's direct mission to originate or promote works of merely worldly utility. Her business is to teach the individual to observe the laws of justice towards God and man, and so to secure his soul's salvation. She rejoices, of course, in the fact that the observance of those laws is also highly conducive to the temporal well-being of the community, but that is not her first or chief care.

Hence it is that the Church claims, in the interest of her children, the right of criticising such measures of social betterment as are not entirely material in their scope and effect. Those who believe in her claims have no difficulty in accepting her guidance, for they know that the divine assistance, which guarantees the correctness of her final judgments on moral questions, operates also to prevent her judging on insufficient or unsafe grounds. Where principles of morality are not involved, or where their precise application is really doubtful, she is careful not to interfere with the liberty of her members.

In this series, then, it is proposed, after a sketch of the history of each question, to show in what points and to what degree Catholic doctrine is involved, what projects are, at least negatively, sound, what motives exist for energetic action, and what Catholic agencies are already at work. It will thus be made abundantly clear that the Church, which played so prominent a part in social reform in the past, has a distinct and very salutary message for the present generation—a message which it is the duty of her faithful members to promulgate with all the zeal and energy in their power.

PREFACE

So much of late has been said and written in the interest of the poorer brethren, that a new book on the subject will be expected to make good its claim to a hearing. The volume here offered to the reader consists of three independent contributions by Catholics, in support respectively of the three typical solutions of the long-standing problem of the treatment of the indigent poor. Here is a plain witness to the fact that from the Catholic point of view each method dealing with this thorny problem is open for adoption, either as it stands or with modifications. Still the circumstances which have restricted the contributions to three seem to suggest that the ultimate solution lies somewhere within them. Hence the significance of this study. Nor has the vigorous propaganda of one particular view resulted in the proposal of any new type of remedy. The most important developments since the publication of the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress* in 1909 have been, not the introduction of the Bill for the Prevention of Destitution 1910, but the *County Councils' Association's proposals for Poor Law Administration*,¹ published early this year, and the representative and exhaustive National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution recently held in London.

¹ After consideration of Majority and Minority Reports.

There is no need here to emphasise the well-known record of history that the Church throughout the course of her history has been occupied chiefly with the poorer classes; neither is it necessary to draw attention to the fact that for a very long period she was the almoner of nations. Still, as the elements of society grew more independent and the exchange of commodities became more complicated, as worldliness spread with the increasing total of wealth, so in all the countries of Europe the State found itself compelled to legislate, not so much for the purpose of relieving or preventing destitution, but in order to protect the property and safety of the citizens.

In England the sweeping economic changes of the sixteenth century brought about a revolution in the methods of relief. The civil authority took over the entire responsibility of dealing with the destitute either by punishment, in the case of vagrants, or by the provision of work, in the case of resident poor; and as time went on this public assistance came to be looked upon by the recipient and donor alike as a right to maintenance. The outcome of all this, even after the mending and muddling of two hundred years, was a general social degradation of the labouring population in the early nineteenth century. The *Poor Law Amendment Act* of 1834 was a despairing, unsystematic and one-sided attempt to remedy the national pauperisation. It succeeded eventually in restricting the area of pauperism, and practically eliminated it from the ordinary industrial life of the people. But its policy was tentative, in the main empirical, and at the same time various and even contradictory. No one will question the advances which public beneficence has made since 1834, and no one can deny that the advantages which our poor enjoy at the present moment are due largely to the

consistent abandonment of the leading ideas and provisions which characterised the policy of 1834. Nor is this all. Alongside the administration of pauper relief has developed an admirable and extensive system of municipal and voluntary aid for the orphan, the sick and the afflicted. And amid this wealth of charitable effort it must not be forgotten that the works of Catholic charity are, under the circumstances of our poverty, such as one might have expected from those who profess that duties in regard of those in want are primary, urgent and imperative.

For many reasons this vast outpouring of beneficence, which (if the cost of education and individual benefactions be also taken into account) will amount in pecuniary value to not less than eighty millions sterling a year, has failed to meet the demand.¹ There is still left a wide fringe of helpless individuals and families who are ill-cared for, or not at all, who live an atrophied, hopeless and non-religious life. They have no share in civic activities or in the joys of civic life. They are outside the true influences of education and the encouragement of religious ideals. Their one concern is bread. Comforts, energy, self-reliance they have none.

Such in their broad outlines are the facts with which we are confronted. They are, unfortunately, not new, but we have lately learnt to observe and register them; while many have resolved never to rest till this distressing condition of society has been rectified. It is not to the point to urge that the Church has performed excel-

¹ A sum approaching £70,000,000 is spent annually out of rates and taxes for the maintenance, education, and medical treatment of those unable to provide adequately for themselves. To this sum must be added the £9,000,000 expended by the endowed charities, and a sum of several millions, at which we may fairly estimate private beneficence of all kinds.

lent service towards the poor in times gone by. In England, at the present moment, no church, not even all the churches together, possess the means or the authority to assist and control the teeming millions of our disinherited. Situated as we are, there is but one authority competent to undertake the gigantic task of attacking this painful and humiliating problem—and that is the State. The simple issue before the people is what is the best method to adopt, and how will that method leave a legitimate and necessary freedom for the charities of the individual and of voluntary institutions.

No State can ever suppress the right of an individual to relieve his fellows. No Legislature has been so foolish as to make the attempt. In particular cases relief might be unwise and at times even criminal. In either alternative such relief would not be an act of Christian charity. No State has the right to prevent its members from associating themselves for the more efficient exercise of civic or specifically Christian virtue. It may not therefore suppress or interfere with any voluntary agency of charity. This does not imply that all such agencies are prudently administered, or that they would not be the better for judicious reforms and periodical visitation. Suitable reforms and visitations, however, may be provided for by trustees, governors, or the proper ecclesiastical authority. It is conceivable that weighty interests such as these might be imperilled by a too eager and academic advocacy of a particular view.

The signs of the times seem to herald the near solution of the difficulties which oppress us. The *Unemployed Workmen's Act* (1905), the *Workmen's Compensation Act* (1906), the *Provision of Meals Act* (1906), the *Old Age Pensions Act* (1908), whatever modification in details some of them may require, in the main are instances of generous and opportune

legislation that do honour to the country, and have brought comfort and relative plenty to many thousands of homes which otherwise starvation would have blighted. The Insurance Bill of this year, when amended and completed, will extend the borders of our social content. A more scientific and enlightened policy in dealing with the subtle difficulties of poverty will still further enlarge our civic happiness. And yet even then the evil will be diminished, not removed. The evils of poverty may be mended, but they will never be ended without the support, the encouragement and the hopes of religion. But so far-reaching a subject admits of no more than a passing statement in the limits of a preface.

This book is an appeal addressed primarily to Catholics. The Catholic knows that he has grave responsibilities in the matter of his attitude towards his brethren, and especially towards those less favourably placed than himself. These duties he may not shirk. They begin in the circle of the family, they extend to the brotherhood of the Faith, they embrace the relationships of civil life and include all those who bear the form and dignity of man. All this should be elementary knowledge for the Catholic, but circumstances have prevented him from realising the doctrine in all its bearings. Yet he is none the less a citizen because he is a Catholic. His religion, ruling the whole man, should prompt him to use the voice and right of his civic freedom all the more zealously in every good cause, and in an especial manner for the welfare of all those whom society is called upon to help.

HENRY PARKINSON.



DESTITUTION AND SUGGESTED REMEDIES

CHAPTER I

A CATHOLIC VIEW OF THE MAJORITY REPORT

THE need of some sort of reform in the present Poor Law system is unanimously acknowledged. How far reform should go, however, is variously stated. Some hold that the "Guardian" system should be maintained, whilst both Reports of the recent Commission agree in condemning the present administration, although they differ as to what to put in its place. My convictions are with the recommendations of the Majority Report, and the purpose of this paper is to explain why this is so.

The changes proposed in the Majority Report are numerous and far-reaching. They came to us as the result of slow and careful deliberations, of exhaustive inquiry and examination, and of patient consideration of alternative schemes and suggestions. They conflict, it is true, with many old traditions, and time and patience will be needed before they come, as it is hoped they will, into effective operation.¹

¹ By the term "Report" in the rest of the paper we refer to the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (1909).

Some minor questions may be briefly dismissed. Whether "Public Assistance" or "Poor Law" shall form the name of the constituted authority, and whether "necessitous" or "destitute" shall describe the subjects of it, are mere matters of terminology. Neither need we discuss the size of the suggested areas of administration, beyond noting that both Reports suggest that present areas require modification. The authority to administer the new law is a more serious matter. Both Reports recommend that Boards of Guardians, as now constituted, should cease to exist and be replaced by some new authority. But their constructive work differs widely. The Majority Report would have only one authority finally responsible for the administration of the law, and recommend that the local administration should be by committees representative of all the local public bodies and charitable agencies, and, finally, that there should be established a "unified London" for all purposes of public assistance. One great advantage of this system is worth dwelling upon, viz. the value of having one single authority to deal with all members of a family. On the family is built the State, and unless we wish to break up family life the family must be treated as far as possible as an indivisible whole. Any system, therefore, which tends to destroy the family ties and lessen the responsibility of the members of a family one to another is prejudicial to the commonwealth. On the other hand, whatever promotes the stability and welfare of the family should be encouraged. Now, under a single authority, such as suggested in the Majority Report, no division of interests, no actual breaking up of family life would be introduced. On the contrary, family life would be strengthened and each member helped to realise his duties towards the rest. Another benefit arising from the proposed constitution of the new Poor Law Authority, which provides that one-third of the members shall retire each year whilst yet eligible for re-election if duly qualified, is that thus continuity in the application of principles of granting relief would be secured. From the evidence given it appears that "failure to secure continuity has in-

flicted great hardship on the poor." "Uncertainty as to policy, and a doubt whether it will be consistently followed year by year, or even week by week, is fatal to the formation of foresight and thrift."

Advocates of the Minority Scheme lay great stress on its application of the principle of "Prevention," but it is noteworthy that the Majority urges¹ in its specification of the duties of the "Public Assistance Committee," which replaces the present Boards of Guardians, that careful inquiry should always be made into the circumstances and conditions of those in distress, and that the best method should be sought by which to give not only immediate relief but also to remove the cause of the distress. The aim in all cases is not merely to relieve but to cure, not to patch but to restore, not to raise but to prevent. Stress is also laid on the value of co-operation between the Poor Law agencies and public and private charities, in order that, where possible, help may be given without recourse to the Poor Law. By free co-operation of this sort it is hoped to avoid over-lapping, prevent indiscriminate almsgiving, and ensure adequate and efficient help being given where needed. "Co-operation," the Report says, "would thus take the place of supplementation."²

One abuse at present prevalent, as disclosed in the evidence before the Commission, will certainly be corrected by intelligent co-operation—I refer to the abuse of "dole charities," which is the source of much indiscriminate and unnecessary almsgiving. To quote from the Report,³ the evidence showed that

The doles fell to many of the unjust and to some of the just. They came to drinking and immoral people living in dirty homes; to the lazy and disreputable; to people quite well enough off to do without them; to old alms-people who were already in receipt of a pension, or had a place in an almshouse; to widows of good, bad, and indifferent character; to steady and well-doing people, and to thriving families. They were indiscriminate. They

¹ Part ix., p. 606.

² Part vii., p. 481.

³ *ibid.*



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promoted dependence among the independent, and palliated demoralisation, and did little or nothing to ameliorate a state of poverty or prevent a state of distress.

Such a state of affairs could not have arisen if the different charitable agencies had knowledge of each other's action, and if almsgiving depended on personal investigation. But because money is not needed or would demoralise, it does not follow that there is no room for the exercise of charity. The truest form of charity is often personal service, signs of interest, a visit of encouragement, sympathetic advice. In pursuance of this ideal the Report recommends that Voluntary Aid Committees be formed in connection with every local Poor Law Authority. These committees, whilst affording scope for the exercise of charity properly so called, would form a recognised link between the Official Poor Law Authority and those desirous of exercising this great Christian virtue. The Commissioners specially draw attention to a class which is in constant danger of falling into pauperism, and which is more accessible to the considerate efforts of voluntary workers than to the ordinary officialism of the Poor Law. The Report takes these several instances:—

The mother of a family who is suddenly left a widow. To such cases, the Board of Guardians make a grant of money and do little more. But money is the least of a widow's many needs. If her independence is to be preserved and her family to be well started in the world, she must have encouragement to persevere, opportunities for self-help, and openings for her children. Such a case should clearly be dealt with by voluntary aid; for voluntary aid is more sympathetic and more elastic than official assistance can be. Old people, again, who have done their best to make provision for themselves, and perhaps through the dishonesty of others have been disappointed, may be appropriately helped by voluntary aid. Even where a pension has been provided under the Old Age Pensions Act, additions to the comforts may very fairly be made by charity. But we go further than this, and express the hope that, when our proposed reforms are in full working order, the great majority of cases will pass,

as it were, through the sieve of voluntary aid before they reach public assistance.

Whilst thus providing carefully that the manner, no less than the substance, of poor relief should be as perfect as possible, and that no check should be placed on generous impulse, the Commissioners aim at making the official aspect of charity as little repellent as they can, laying great stress on the importance of the officers of the Local Authority being efficient and the right men for the particular posts to which they are appointed. The Report says:—¹

No person shall be appointed as clerk who has not some knowledge and experience of Poor Law, no person as superintendent of an institution who has not had some experience in dealing with the classes which the institution contains. . . . If the general workhouse is abolished each of the specialised institutions which takes its place will require a superintendent, qualified by knowledge and experience, for its management. The salary offered must be sufficient to attract men not merely of organising power, but *having the moral* qualities necessary to develop the capacities of those under their charge.

The importance of these provisions cannot be too highly rated. The success of the new Poor Law as proposed will depend greatly on moral influence. The new Labour Masters must be men who have been trained for the work. Relieving officers should, it is stated, have had previous training as assistant relieving officers, and should pass an examination and obtain a certificate before appointment.

It is interesting to note in this connection that another much-needed reform is recommended, viz. that by which teachers may be transferred, if they desire it, from public elementary schools to the Poor Law service, and *vice versa*, without any sacrifice of previous qualifications.

Further suggestions concern the internal working of the new authority. The service of the "Public Assistance," including all the officers concerned with the supervision, control and disciplinary treatment of the poor, and the relieving officers, both male and female, should be carefully

¹ p. 615.

graded, and should afford reasonable opportunities of promotion from the lower to the higher ranks. As in the case of teachers, it is further recommended that no question of superannuation should hinder the transfer of efficient and promising officers from one Local Authority to another, as it does under the present arrangements. A regulation of the utmost importance from the religious point of view, and one which finds no place in the Minority Report, is as follows:—

Provision should be made for inmates of all denominations receiving religious administration and instruction from the clergy of their respective churches.

This, of course, means that all children entered as Roman Catholics would have a legal right to the free exercise of their religion, and would, as now, be passed on to Catholic institutions when and where possible. And the same spirit of justice is observable in the equally important matter of adoption:—

In all cases of adoption no person shall be eligible as a foster-parent who does not profess the same religious belief as is indicated on the creed register of the child.¹

Those who are aware of the misdirected zeal of pious Protestant ladies who sometimes adopt Catholic children with a view of saving their bodies from the workhouse and their souls from the Pope will recognise the importance of this provision.

To secure the essential personal knowledge it is wisely recommended that relieving officers should not be burdened with too large a number of cases, and that pay stations should be abolished. Zeal for efficiency and consideration for the recipients of relief are shown in the suggested appointment of suitable women-visitors for certain out-relief cases.

Such are a few of the good points of the Report, as revealed by a summary inspection. It is now time to consider from a Catholic standpoint the detailed recommenda-

¹ Part iv., c. 8.

tions of the Commissioners. But before considering the principles of a reformed Poor Law, which they enumerate, it would be well to glance at the leading defects of the present, enumerated in the Report:—¹

- I. The inadequacy of existing Poor Law areas to meet the growing needs of administration.
- II. The excessive size of many Boards of Guardians.
- III. The absence of any general interest in Poor Law work and Poor Law elections, due in great part to the fact that Poor Law work stands in no organic relation to the rest of local government.
- IV. The lack of intelligent uniformity in the application of principles and in general administration.
- V. The want of proper investigation and discrimination in dealing with applicants.
- VI. The tendency in many Boards of Guardians to give outdoor relief without plan or purpose.
- VII. The unsuitability of the general workhouse as a test or deterrent for the able-bodied; the aggregation in it of all classes without sufficient classification; and the absence of any system of friendly and restorative help.
- VIII. The lack of co-operation between Poor Law and charity.
- IX. The tendency of candidates to make lavish promises of out-relief and of Guardians to favour their constituents in its distribution.
- X. General failure to attract capable social workers and leading citizens.
- XI. The general rise in expenditure not always accompanied by an increase of efficiency and administration.
- XII. The want of sufficient control and continuity of policy on the part of the central authority.

The first and seventh mentioned defects hang together, as the “growing needs of administration” refers to proper classification. The Commissioners themselves say:—²

There is, perhaps, no point in Poor Law administration upon which it is more difficult and dangerous to generalise than the workhouse itself. . . . A distinction may,

¹ Part ix., p. 596.

² p. 132.

however, be drawn between the workhouses in rural areas, in provincial towns and in London.

If the general workhouse is abolished and institutions for special purposes are established, in order to secure the much-needed reform of due classification, the areas in some districts must be enlarged. If existing areas were in all cases retained great unnecessary expense would have to be incurred in many small ones in setting up separate institutions where the total number of paupers is itself not large. As regards defects III. and X. one cannot be surprised that those who might take an interest in Poor Law work and prove good and capable guardians should hold aloof. The range of eligibility is so wide that in many cases people stand for elections as Guardians totally unfitted for the work, whether we regard education or practical experience. Unless it is put out of the power of unworthy candidates, for their own private ends and by means of lavish promises of public money to their supporters (*cf.* defect IX.), to solicit election, no enlightened policy and no continuity of administration can be hoped for. And the best and most capable citizens will continue to hold aloof as they will not stoop to the methods used to secure election (defect X.). If the methods of election cannot be improved it is better that the Guardians should go. The IV., V. and VI. defects are directly due to incapable Boards. The VIII. defect has already been touched on. It is obvious that the lack of co-operation between official and voluntary relief agencies should result in waste and demoralisation. In the VII. defect one great blot of the present system is mentioned, but not emphasised sufficiently, *sc.*, that the mixed workhouse system does not lend itself to preventive influences. Now, as the Report says,¹ the wisest form of charity is to stop the downward progress. . . . Charity should be an effective agent, combating the incipient development of destitution and distress.

This is another strong argument, of which the Minority Report makes the most, for some change in the present

¹ p. 623.

system which makes little provision for proper investigation of cases and discrimination in dealing with applicants. Faced with these palpable defects, the Report¹ sets forth, with admirable clearness and conciseness, the main principles of reformation. It suggests:—

1. That the treatment of the poor who apply for public assistance should be adapted to the needs of the individual, and, if institutions, should be governed by classification.

2. That the public administration established for the assistance of the poor should work in co-operation with the local and private charities of the district.

3. That the system of public assistance thus established should include processes of help which would be preventive, curative and restorative.

4. That every effort should be made to foster the instincts of independence and self-maintenance amongst those assisted.

There is nothing here which is not in full harmony with the dictates of reason and the requirements of Christian ethics. The Report goes on to discuss each of these elementary principles. It points out² that

those who apply for relief fall into many classes, and the treatment of each class, and of each individual within that class, should be governed by the conditions surrounding the class or the individual.

This is a principle frequently overlooked at present, when the accommodation provided for paupers who may be idle or thriftless is in some instances luxurious compared with that won by the utmost efforts of the industrious and self-respecting poor. Hence there is a premium on pauperism.

The Royal Commission of 1832 intended that work-houses should be places of work for the able-bodied, that their methods should be *deterrent*, and that for other applicants suitable and separate institutions were to be established. It has proved impossible to realise these intentions because of the difficulty of distinguishing between culpable and inculpable indigence, and of providing separately

¹ p. 617.

² p. 597.

under existing conditions for the various classes of paupers. The immense variety, too, of local conditions and the lack of one uniform system has produced much variation in practice, which has had the effect of indoor relief being deterrent in some workhouses and attractive in others. Food, housing, character and duration of employment differ enormously in different places, so that all forms of treatment between extreme harshness and extreme laxity, both equally demoralising, are to be met with.

Then, once more, the effect of the legislation of 1834 was to create the class known as "ins and outs." The result on the character of adults of this unsettled existence is bad enough, but it is ruinous to the training of children, who often grow up without being educated at all, either in Poor Law or Public Elementary Schools.

It is these children, deprived of the advantage of settled home-life, with no home training and no continued school discipline, and with an ever-varying place of abode, that grow up a race of pure vagabonds, destined to transmit their habits and modes of life to other generations.

The first principle further advises separate institutions instead of the mixed workhouse for indoor relief. The classification suggested by the Report¹ is as follows:—

1. Children.
2. Aged and Infirm.
3. Sick.
4. Able-bodied men.
5. Able-bodied women.
6. Vagrants.
7. Feeble-minded and epileptics.

There would be a further division according to character. It is especially mentioned that in every institution for the aged and for the able-bodied a system of classification should be adopted on the basis of conduct before and after the admission.

And now, a word on the second principle. It represents, we consider, a most essential feature in any scheme of re-

¹ p. 617.

form, viz. the preservation and increase of existing private charitable organisations, without which poor relief tends to become mere officialdom and the springs of Christian compassion either dry up or flow into harmful channels.

Experience has shown that a merely deterrent Poor Law is insufficient to prevent the idle and vicious from becoming a burden on the industrious. The third principle of the reformed Poor Law aims at removing this canker by advocating processes of help which would be "preventive, curative and restorative." In other words, not only should distress be relieved, but the cause of distress should be ascertained, so as to check the evil at its source by making the applicant, as far as possible, self-supporting and independent.

Armed, then, with these primary maxims, the Commissioners proceed to apply them in detail to the problem of poverty and destitution. How is relief to be administered?

Out-relief or home assistance comes first. The intention of the Commissioners of 1832 was that out-relief to the able-bodied should be entirely put an end to. Parliament accepted this principle, but administration of the law has not been uniform. The Report states in regard to out-relief:—

We have found a total want of principle and of uniformity in its administration, due, as we think, in part at least, to a lack of sufficient supervision. . . . The want of uniformity is generally the result of careless administration. We do not recommend its abolition, partly because we hope that, if our proposals are adopted, the need for it will gradually disappear—and, in any case, its mischief will be reduced to a minimum—and partly because we feel that time is needed for the development of a curative system of treatment, and that the abolition of out-relief might cause hardships. We also feel that it may be, if used wisely, a means of restoring to independence those to whom it is given, and that the strict supervision which we recommend of the housing, surroundings and habits of the recipients may do much to raise the level of a neighbourhood.

Thus what the Commissioners have in mind is not to condemn and abolish out-relief altogether but to remove to the utmost extent the need of it, for they anticipate the day when the "work done by out-relief, *so far as it is useful*," shall be done by voluntary agencies, and "hope in the future . . . that a clear line will be drawn between the *necessitous* who are properly relieved by the community and the *poor* who are the proper objects of voluntary aid."

Their chief recommendations with regard to the granting of out-relief are as follows—they are quite in accordance with Christian teaching:—

1. That out-relief should be given only after thorough inquiry, except in cases of sudden and urgent necessity.
2. That it should be adequate to meet the needs of those to whom it is given.
3. That persons so assisted shall be subject to supervision.
4. That such supervision should include in its purview the conditions, moral and sanitary, under which the recipient is living.
5. That voluntary agencies should be utilised as far as possible for the personal care of individual cases.
6. That there shall be one uniform Order governing "outdoor-relief" and "home assistance."

The condition of the children of parents in receipt of out-relief under the present system, according to the Report, "is far from what it should be." With better knowledge of the homes, the result of thorough investigation, and with the exercise of discrimination in the granting of relief, so that it should neither be excessive nor inadequate, the children would be properly nourished. The prospect of losing this help if the home conditions were culpably unsatisfactory would tend to keep parents up to the mark.

The problem of how to grant out-door relief to widows without lowering the rate of wages, and whether such widows with young children should be obliged to supplement their relief funds by going out to work, is, according to the evidence, one of the most difficult in the whole Poor

Law administration. The Report would solve the difficulty by recommending:—

That the mother, when a widow and a respectable woman, should not be separated from her children, and that the assistance should be such as to enable her to give the time necessary for taking care of her children. If the children are more numerous than she can manage, they, or some of them, should be sent as day-boarders to a school where they can be fed during school hours. In populous districts these schools might be started much on the lines of the day industrial schools, but care must be taken to give them such designation and surrounding as will altogether dissociate them from crime and misconduct. When the children are too young to go to school, the mother should not go to work unless a sufficient substitute for her can be provided.

In regard to indoor-relief, the most important question which arises concerns the treatment of the children. All will agree with the Commissioners when they say:—

We are strongly of opinion that effective steps should be taken to secure that the maintenance of children in the workhouse be no longer recognised as a legitimate way of dealing with them.

A great advance towards the Christian ideal is to be observed by contrasting in this regard the Reports of 1832 and of 1909. In 1832, of all the classes that came within the scope of the Poor Law children were, in every way, the worst provided for and most neglected. They were untrained mentally and morally, and left to grow up in ignorance, idleness and vice, and so to fill the ranks of pauperism and crime. But by degrees, however painfully slow, successive enactments were passed to better the lot of this helpless class, until, in 1909, the Commissioners are able to say, speaking of children permanently under the Poor Law:—

Few such children in after-life fall back into pauperism, and it is probable that the children in some, at least, of the present Poor Law schools are being better fitted for earning their living than those educated outside. This

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substantial improvement must be put to the credit of the existing Poor Law administration.

Regarding the other methods of caring for indigent children, viz. *District Schools*, *Grouped Cottage Homes*, *Scattered Homes*, *Boarding-out*, the Report comes to the conclusion that:—

Each system has its merits and its drawbacks, and more depends upon the administrators than upon the system.

District Schools (first established in 1844) are open to the objection that evil necessarily results from the herding together of children of all ages without proper supervision, and hence the Report is wise in not recommending them; whereas the objection to *Grouped Cottage Homes* (started first in 1867), is mainly their cost of erection and maintenance. The *Scattered Homes* system meets with more support. They have the great advantage of securing a kind of home-life, particularly valuable for girls, without much capital expenditure. Homes of this kind, when closely supervised and under competent foster-mothers, are excellent. But the system which the Commissioners would like to have extended is that of *Boarding-out*. The advantages are great. First and foremost, children can be boarded out in homes where their own religion is practised. The expense involved is comparatively small, for there would be no capital expenditure at all. The children have an opportunity to lead a normal home-life, and besides they enter upon their industrial life on the same terms as other children. This system needs most careful supervision and discrimination in selection of the homes to be used. The Commissioners recommend that the supervision of the boarding-out system should be in the hands of competent women-officers. It is also desirable that the number under the care of one officer should be limited, so that the supervision may be thorough and frequent.

The evil of bad homes is met by the recommendation that the Poor Law Authority should oftener exercise their power of removing, for adoption by others, the children of

vicious parents; that when such children are adopted the parents themselves should be strictly dealt with; and that the age of control over adopted children should be raised to twenty-one, and that, if otherwise desirable, the future of the children should be secured by emigration.

Besides provision for the bodily support of indigent children the Authority has to consider their education. The Commissioners do not advocate any extensive change in this matter :—

Whilst we recommend special co-operation between the Poor Law and the Education authorities, we are not in favour of transferring the education of Poor Law children wholly to the local Education authorities, but we would recommend a scheme by which teachers in either service should have the same status and be interchangeable.¹

The reason for this attitude, which is in such strong contrast with that of the Minority, is that in different districts the Poor Law authorities might be dealing differently with the children according to the different methods enumerated above. Besides, difficulties would arise if the Education authorities had to support children in Poor Law schools or cottage homes, etc., who belonged to other districts, for the areas do not coincide. Of course, under a boarding-out system the children would in all cases attend the nearest school. The consistent aim of the Report is visible also in this matter, for there can be little doubt that the more normal the life of the Poor Law children can be made the better for their future careers, and, therefore, wherever possible, mixing with children living a happy, normal home-life is encouraged. At the other end of the scale of life, the Report concerns itself with the fortunes of the aged poor, and aims at continuing the improvements inaugurated of late years, such as the keeping of respectable people apart from the shiftless and criminal, so that they shall not have to put up with worse society than they would outside. "There is none," says the Report,

¹ p. 620.

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“ whose condition appeals more strongly to public sympathy, and whose treatment requires more discrimination and greater variety.” By the reforms proposed the Poor Law Authority “ will have at their disposal all the institutions within a county, and will therefore have facilities for classifying the necessitous poor by institutions.” The Commissioners recommend “ that one or more of the institutions, according to the requirements of each county area, should be set aside for the necessitous aged, and that their classification should be determined by their physical condition, the record of their lives previous to their admission into the institution, and their behaviour after admission.”

The system of small houses for the respectable aged is also advocated, but “ with its adoption, visitation and supervision must be at the same time organised.”

The small homes system would enable the old folk to have sometimes their own furniture, bits of old china and treasures of their old homes, perhaps intrinsically worthless, but of great value in the eyes of their owner. “ The cost per head,” in these homes, “ including maintenance, rent, or repayment of building loan, is not greater than the cost in the workhouse, but the tone and vivacity of the individual and his willingness to help himself is incomparably greater.”

With regard to the treatment of the other classes enumerated on page 22, the Report shows the same consideration, keeping ever in view the importance of so relieving physical necessity as not to impair moral character nor to throw an undue burden on the community. For the treatment of the sick, for instance, they recommend that medical assistance be organised on a provident basis, and that a general system of provident dispensaries be established. Medical treatment, where immediately necessary, should be more readily obtainable, and the physical conditions of the patient should be the first consideration. As is now the case, no disfranchisement would be attached to any form of medical assistance.

As we are not describing all the provisions of the Report

but simply showing that it does not contravene the laws of Christian charity, we need not further dilate upon schemes such as invalidity insurance, suggested therein, nor describe how the problem of unemployment is handled and what provision is made for those who are normally in a state of under-employment. The spirit in which their recommendations are conceived is excellently expressed by the Commissioners themselves:—

Great as are the administrative charges which we propose, and costly as some of the new establishments may be, we feel strongly that the pauperism and distress we have described can never be successfully combated by administration and expenditure. The causes of distress are not only economic and industrial; in their origin and character they are largely moral. Government by itself cannot correct or remove such influences. Something more is required. The co-operation, spontaneous and whole-hearted, of the community at large, and especially of those sections of it which are well-to-do and free from the pressure of poverty, is indispensable. There is evidence from many quarters to show that the weak part of our system is not want of public spirit or benevolence, or lack of funds or of social workers, or of material out of which these can be made—its weakness is lack of organisation, of method, and of confidence in those who administer the system.

There is no taint of Socialism in these words; but a recognition of the basic facts of the problem and a shrewd indication of the lines of the only possible solution. The public conscience must realise the moral character of the disease. Once that is remedied physical evils will be both fewer and more easily borne.

K. E. M.

CHAPTER II

THE CASE FOR THE POOR LAW GUARDIANS

IN presenting a case for the Guardians, it must not be thought for one moment that I am advocating a policy of "do nothing," or that I am suggesting no reforms are needed. On the contrary, the Catholic Guardians' Association has since its foundation been constantly and persistently working for reform in very many ways, and it has been instrumental in a quiet and unostentatious manner in bringing about many important and far-reaching reforms, not only for the Catholic poor but for the poor of all creeds in many parts of the country. These reforms, with few exceptions, have been accomplished without the slightest alteration of the existing laws, which have been found to be adequate, but the administration of which has been, and still is, in some parts, far from perfect. Personally, I should like, with the Minority Commissioners, to sweep away the entire Poor Law system, and blot out its memory from English history. Every time I think of it, and it is constantly before me, it brings back to my mind the tragic and terrible circumstances which caused its establishment. It seems to be a habit with the English nation, as well as with other nationalities, to reform by sweeping away all that is good and bad together and trying new experiments as a substitute. The Poor Law is one of the many evils arising from the sweeping away of the Catholic Church, with its monasteries and convents; and the nation has been experimenting ever since, but can find nothing as efficient. France, with this lamentable history right under her eyes, is plunging headlong into the same terrible abyss, and nothing will save her but a return to the Catholic Faith, just as no system will ever restore the poor

of England to their rightful position until England herself once more willingly conforms to the practice and teachings of the Catholic faith. It is inadvisable, therefore, in our haste for reform to sweep away all existing machinery and substitute yet another new and untried system. Catholics should be the last to take this course, if only for the reasons already stated; but rather let them study carefully the good and bad points connected with the existing system and see whether they cannot, by Catholic influence and Catholic charity, improve what exists in such a way that with the help of Almighty God, they may at no-far-distant time be able to look upon this child of the pseudo-reformation as a child worthy of the Catholic Church. And, when the time comes, they may hope that the Church will again be the faithful guardian of all God's poor and afflicted, as in the good old days gone by.¹

Many of the reforms recommended by both the Majority and Minority Commissioners are exceedingly good, and could, with very little difficulty, be carried into effect by the existing machinery. On a large number of points they are in practical harmony, and it seems a thousand pities that the whole of the Commissioners did not arrive at a unanimous decision and issue a joint report. One chief point, however, upon which both were agreed was that the existing Guardians of the Poor were to be swept into oblivion and other agencies and authorities set up in their place.² Both parties had many good things to say for

¹ At the present time about 9,000 Catholics, who are under the care of the Poor Law, are placed in Catholic institutions entirely managed by our religious communities, independently of the thousands of poor who are saved from the Poor Law by Catholic voluntary institutions.

² Some idea of the magnitude of this proposal may be gathered from the fact that England and Wales is at present divided into 656 Unions and out-relief stations. These Unions are managed by no less than 24,000 elected Guardians, two and a half per cent. of whom are Catholics. It must not be assumed, however, that Catholic Guardians are proportionately represented on every Board throughout the country. On some Boards the proportion reaches fifty per cent., while on 400 Boards there are no Catholic representatives. The proportion of Catholics receiving relief from the Poor Law is

many Boards of Guardians, yet, in spite of any good qualities, these were to be done away with. This on the face of it appears very drastic, and it was not surprising to find one of the signatories of the Majority Report issuing a supplementary Memorandum explaining his reasons for signing the Majority rather than the Minority Report, and then proceeding to explain how on very important points he disagreed with both. This memorandum of Dr Downes (now Sir Arthur Downes) has received far too little consideration in the heat and excitement created by the rival supporters of the two main Reports. It must not be forgotten that Sir Arthur Downes is without doubt the most experienced, in all matters connected with Poor Law and its administration, of all the members of the Royal Commission, and his words are therefore worthy of the most careful attention by all who are interested in this great social problem. He said:—

I regret I must dissent from the scheme of administration proposed in the Majority Report. I view with grave misgiving the wholesale and imminent disruption of existing agencies and the transference of the work of relief to a complicated, untried, and, as I venture to think, unworkable system of machinery, with manifold and inherent dangers.

He then speaks of the present elective basis being insufficient, and proceeds:—

But all this could be adjusted by other measures, and a proposal to sweep away all directly elected representation of this great field of local government is so contrary to the national instinct and to our established principles, and so fraught with contingent dangers, as to demand the most rigid proof of its necessity. The sufficiency of such proof, either in the Majority or in the Minority Report, may, I think, be justly challenged, and it is improbable that the about ten per cent. of the total, which is at the time of writing the lowest on record, viz., less than 700,000. Of this number about 250,000 are receiving relief in institutions. Thus we have some 25,000 Catholics in institutions under the Poor Law and about 45,000 in receipt of out-relief.

picture drawn in the latter Report will be generally recognised as an accurate or impartial presentment of the actual facts.

I regret space will not permit my giving the entire Memorandum, but I should recommend all interested to get it and study it carefully. I must, however, give one more sentence, as it so strongly represents my case. He says:—

I regret there is not in the Reports a fuller recognition . . . of the work that has been accomplished by the Guardians and their officers, a work in which the co-operation of many voluntary agencies has greatly aided.

It is not my intention to deal at great length with all or any of the many points raised by the Royal Commissioners, or even to state in detail what they are. All who are interested in them can obtain the Report and see for themselves, but what I do want to emphasise is that the recommendations of both the Majority and the Minority Commissioners would, if carried out, involve the ratepayers and taxpayers of this country in enormous expenditure, and would, instead of preventing destitution, greatly facilitate its increase.¹ One of the grievances I have against our present system is its enormous expense, which inflicts great hardship upon vast numbers of genuinely poor people, who make heroic efforts to keep themselves and families respectable, and who, at the same time, have to contribute very largely towards supporting in comparative luxury large numbers who have been more or less responsible for their own downfall. One or two practical illustrations will suffice to show the truth of these remarks. In 1894 a Departmental Committee was formed to inquire into the existing systems for the maintenance of Poor Law children. In 1896 their Report was issued, which practically condemned what was then known as the Barrack School

¹ The cost of the Poor Law is at present about fifteen millions. Two of the recommendations of the Commission have already been put into operation, viz., Old Age Pensions and Labour Exchanges, without appreciably reducing the cost of the Poor Law, but at an expense to the country of over twelve and a half millions for pensions alone, apart from the large sum for Labour Exchanges.

system. Several of these schools were the property of combined Boards of Guardians, and consequently they had to be broken up, and the various Boards concerned had to provide more approved accommodation for the children under their care. Bermondsey, one of the Boards concerned, after a few years, set about providing the most up-to-date homes at Shirley at an enormous cost, far beyond that which many well-to-do gentlefolk would, or could ever, hope to provide for their families, and the cost per head for every child in those homes during the first year amounted to no less than slightly over thirty shillings per week! Now, look at the other side of the picture. Bermondsey is one of the very poorest districts of London, in which numbers of families are known to be with an average income of from ten to fifteen shillings a week, out of which food, clothing and rent have to be provided, in addition to a regular contribution of taxes and poor rates, direct or indirect. Many thousands live in a state of semi-starvation in their struggle to make ends meet and keep themselves decent, whilst they have to contribute a great deal more than is just or reasonable to maintain in comparative luxury those who have been less careful and thrifty. One other example: Certain London Boards of Guardians were required to provide a Sick Infirmary, which, of course, had to be quite up-to-date, with all the latest modern requirements. It was provided, and when finished it was found that each place therein had cost no less than £400. The cost of maintenance, medical attention, etc., apart from official salaries, was £73 per annum for each inmate. The funds for all this had to be provided by those who frequently hesitate when one of the family falls sick to send for a sixpenny bottle of medicine. Endless examples of this kind could be quoted to show that the poor under the care of the Poor Law are being treated far differently and far more generously than was ever intended by those who instituted the system. In 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners laid it down as a rule for guidance that the condition of the pauper should never be more eligible than that of the labouring poor. That the condition at present is far

superior to that of many hundreds of thousands of the labouring poor will not, I think, be denied by any who have a practical knowledge of the life and conditions of those of both classes. The question of expense does not seem to enter for one moment into the minds of our would-be social reformers. It is true the Majority Commissioners frequently refer to the cost of the present system, but without going into details I would refer my readers to some of their recommendations on pages 614 and 616 of the Official Report, which, if universally carried out, will send up the cost of the Poor Law enormously.

Just think seriously for a moment whether there is one additional person in employment now more than there would have been had there been no Labour Exchanges established. Have these latest institutions, which are a part of the Minority scheme, provided any additional employment, except for those who have been fortunate enough to secure the patronage of their friends for the many lucrative and comfortable appointments connected with the management of the Exchanges? Have employers of labour at any time complained that they cannot obtain sufficient labour to carry on their works like the employers of labour in Canada and Australia, or can they say the Labour Exchanges have been a blessing to them in any way by providing them at the psychological moment with the right man or woman they required? From my experience, which is fairly extensive, I cannot answer in the affirmative. On the contrary, I know of glaring instances where both employers of labour and casual labourers have suffered seriously by the establishment of these institutions. On the other hand, who will have to pay the enormous cost for the provision and upkeep of the Labour Exchanges, either directly or indirectly, but the very poor and labouring classes whom they were intended to benefit?

The Old Age Pension scheme is no doubt a very good thing in its way, but it is not an unmixed blessing, and certainly it has again involved the nation in another great expenditure, and it has enormously increased the numbers in receipt of poor relief, although not from the Guardians.

Considerable numbers are known to me personally who would never have thought of applying for relief from the Guardians, and who would always have been kept in comfort by their friends and children, but they do not hesitate to take the pension, which is outdoor relief under another name and form; nor has the pension done away with the unpleasantness attached to having to apply to the relieving officer each week—in fact, it has rather aggravated it, as usually only those in the same position as the applicant ever knew a person was receiving relief, whereas now it is quite common to meet people known to you at the post offices receiving their pensions. The possibility of emptying the workhouses of aged folk, as it was hoped, is already proved a complete failure. This Act has done a great deal in relieving children of responsibility to their parents, a thing much to be deplored and contrary to the spirit existing in Catholic times in this country and at the present time in Catholic countries.¹ Much has been said about the way in which the poor are treated when applying for relief from the Guardians, as to the many questions which they have to answer and the many inquiries made respecting their behaviour and character, but those who complain are also the first to grumble about indiscriminate almsgiving, and they would probably be surprised and shocked to know that the respectable poor are treated a great deal worse at many of our public hospitals, which are entirely supported by their voluntary contributions.

The question of extravagance by Guardians has frequently been made a reason for their abolition. They are abused for building such costly establishments and for spending such large sums of money upon their upkeep, but few seem to realise that they are in these matters practically powerless. They are urged and compelled by Government authorities to provide everything that is

¹ At a public meeting of Catholics at Hammersmith the writer was severely censured for venturing to assert that grave scandals were taking place under the Old Age Pensions Act. That the statement was true is now fully confirmed by the introduction of a new Pension Bill by the Government to remedy these and other matters.

costly and of the latest approved designs; the Government in turn are urged on by irresponsible faddists, and, if I may venture to say so, the ever-increasing anxiety of politicians to carry out some scheme which will be popular and secure for them the much-coveted vote of the working classes, quite regardless of cost and of the ultimate results to the nation. Were it possible to make our would-be reformers of the Poor Law and our ardent politicians thoroughly conversant with the lives and conditions of all poor we might hope for different results. If the Royal Commissioners could have been induced to visit the many homes of the Little Sisters of the Poor, the homes of the Sisters of Nazareth, the Providence Row Night Refuge, besides many others, and to make enquiries into their cost and management, they would there have found ways and means for caring for the poor, for making them happy and comfortable, and all at a comparatively small cost. At the latter institution they would have discovered a scientific way for dealing with their "ins and outs," and at the same time have been convinced of the utter impossibility of altogether preventing destitution. If they could have visited and enquired into the working and management of our Catholic hospitals, such as St Catherine's Hospital at Ramsgate, the Hospital for the Dying at Hackney, or the Hospital at St. John's Wood, they would have learned much to their advantage regarding the care of the sick. Or again, could they not have learned much from our many rescue homes for children throughout the country in the way of economy and care for the present and future welfare of the children? Let us then take heed lest we go too far in the way of expense and bring about a reaction, which will assuredly come if we are not very careful; and if a reaction does set in, our Catholic poor will be the first to suffer.

Our administrators will not see eye to eye with us in the importance of having paid Catholic chaplains for our workhouses and infirmaries, nor in providing separate treatment for Catholic children. Few people know or realise all that the Guardians have done for our poor in the

past and so much of their own free will. They are not required by law to pay a Catholic priest for his services in ministering to the poor of their institutions, but at the present time the Guardians are paying to Catholic clergy of England for chaplaincies alone £5,656 per annum. To understand fully what this means for our poor it will be necessary to go into details. A priest when appointed by the Guardians to the office of Roman Catholic Instructor, to give him his official designation, becomes a member of the staff, and consequently he is bound to fulfil his duties as would any other official—not that he would not do so if not paid, but in many instances it is impossible for a mission to support more than one priest, and the duties to his parishioners take up the whole of his time; with the help of a stipend he is able to keep a curate to help him. In many workhouses the Guardians have provided a separate Catholic Chapel in which the Catholic inmates have Mass, Benediction, and even the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. What a blessing it is for these poor to be able to pay a visit to our Lord every evening before retiring to say their night prayers! In many instances Guardians have provided separate dormitories for the Catholic inmates, so that they may have their sacred pictures and statues and run no risk of being disturbed in their morning and evening devotions. Some have provided separate sitting rooms, but these, except with the women, have generally proved a failure. The men being of one faith, and usually of the same political opinion, find it difficult to create sufficiently interesting arguments. It is an edifying sight to visit many of the workhouses and see large numbers making their weekly and monthly Communions, or to see the Catholic Chapel crowded with devout worshippers during exposition of the Blessed Sacrament; and when one considers the lives a large proportion of these people have led before they entered these places it makes the sight still more wonderful. No one better than the clergy who minister to the Catholic inmates of workhouses and infirmaries can form an idea of the vast amount of spiritual good the majority of the inmates receive through being brought to

a state of destitution. Repeatedly have I heard them say at the close of a week's mission how pleased they would be if missions at their Churches could bring such gratifying results. The ever-lamented Bishop Butt never missed an opportunity of saying the workhouses were the only possible means of salvation for many thousands of our people, and I well remember on one occasion when a person told him it would not be necessary to visit a certain workhouse as the people there were all saints, how he exhibited his righteous wrath and acknowledged how true it was, but at the same time he stated they had become so since they entered, and he wished them to remain so until they left for their heavenly home. During my many years of visiting Poor Law institutions I have come into close contact with thousands of our Catholic poor, who could not mention the time when they last approached the Sacraments or even so much as darkened the doors of a church by their shadow; indeed, I could fill volumes with details of those who had not seen the inside of a Catholic church since they left school, or who, at sixty and seventy years of age, had not made their first Holy Communion. Others I have seen in whose case sickness and the consequent reception of the Sacraments proved the Providential answer to the prayers of a devout mother; men, again, who had been in the highest state of worldly prosperity and had forgotten all the pious practices of their youthful days, now recalled to their duty by adversity; and in few cases have I found those who have been fortunate enough to die under the care of the much-maligned Poor Law who have not finished their days under such happy conditions as to make their lot almost enviable for those who have witnessed their death. Difficulties have been met with on many occasions and in many ways, but, speaking generally, these difficulties, with the help of the law and the chief administrative department—the Local Government Board—have been overcome without much trouble. Bigotry amongst Guardians of the Poor is fast dying out, and will, I hope, soon disappear altogether. The brief description I have given of the present position of Catholic

adults under the Poor Law is, I am happy to say, due to a very large extent to Catholics taking part in this great social work, by becoming Guardians and taking an active interest in the general work of the Board and not confining themselves only to Catholic interests. It has taken many years to bring this state of things about, and now what is to happen if the Majority or Minority recommendations are to be carried out? They are all to be swept away and a completely new set of experiments introduced.

What will happen to our Catholic adult poor under the recommendations of the Majority Commissioners? They would abolish the general workhouse and introduce specialised institutions, each with a qualified superintendent, and they would provide for all denominations receiving religious administration and instruction from the clergy of their respective churches. But if the general workhouses of London or other large towns are to be abolished, and still more specialised institutions are to be introduced, may we not reasonably ask and wonder where they are to be placed—will they be near a Catholic Church so that a priest can visit them? ¹ Even if they are, will the new "Public Assistance" authorities be willing to pay a priest for his services, especially when the numbers are greatly reduced by division? Again, will Catholics be as largely represented upon the new authorities as they are on the old? Without going into all the details connected with the composition of these new bodies, there is grave reason to believe that our poor will be the losers by any change in this direction. If we look to the recommendations of the Minority Commissioners, with their total abolition of the present system and its transference

¹ This is a real difficulty, which has already given considerable trouble and anxiety. Metropolitan Guardians, in order to participate in grants from the Common Poor Fund, must not accommodate more than the number for which their institutions are certified; consequently they board out when possible in other institutions less crowded. In this way Catholics have often been sent to an institution fifteen to twenty miles from a Catholic Church, and have been in considerable spiritual peril until it was possible to get them removed.

to five totally different committees, the dangers will be far greater, looking at it from a purely Catholic and spiritual point of view. Especially do I think this would be the case with regard to our children. At present we have very little to complain of regarding the treatment of our children by the Poor Law authorities. There are many systems in existence in different parts of the country and with few exceptions all the children have their faith safeguarded. All the Metropolitan Boards and many of the Provincial Boards send all healthy Catholic children to Catholic certified schools, where they are entirely away from non-Catholic surroundings and receive every care and attention. Some send their children to cottage homes, which are not so satisfactory, especially when far removed from Catholic church and schools, but these are rare; others adopt the scattered homes system, which enables the Guardians to secure a home near Catholic church and schools exclusively for Catholic children, and under the management of a Catholic foster-parent. This system has proved invaluable to Boards of Guardians at a great distance from a certified school and also to those with only a few Catholic children under their care. The boarding-out system, which is adopted largely by some Boards, also provides effectively for the protection of our children, as they can only be boarded out with Catholic families. Our sick children, however, are not on such safe ground, particularly in the Metropolis. Ever since the demand for specialised treatment, which was long before the appointment of the Royal Commission, the Catholic body have provided specialised institutions for the treatment of ophthalmia, scalp diseases, epilepsy, etc., and the majority of Boards of Guardians have sent all Catholic children suffering from those diseases to Catholic special schools, but a few persist in sending them to similar institutions under the management of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, where they are entirely removed from Catholic surroundings. The local priest is always advised of their arrival, but I need scarcely point out that it is far from

being the same thing so far as the child's faith is concerned.

Having secured all this, and much else besides, for our Catholic children under the existing Poor Law, are we willingly to allow them to be transferred to the Education authorities after our experience of the way in which our Education authorities have treated us regarding our children, who are not dependent upon them for maintenance as well as education? Can we hope for a generous treatment from these bodies for any of our children who will be dependent upon them? Will they see that these poor little dependent ones have Catholic schools and Catholic teachers, and that their faith will not be undermined by the much-spoken-of undenominational influence? For my part, I look with great dread upon the future of the children of our poor if they are to be handed over to any Education authority with the present spirit existing in the country regarding our Catholic schools.

In conclusion, I appeal most strongly to all Catholic social workers interested in the welfare of our poor to study most carefully our position from a spiritual as well as a temporal point of view, and, if they do, I feel convinced they can only arrive at one conclusion, and that is, that reforms are indeed necessary, but that the existing machinery is adequate, if scientifically adjusted and repaired.

THOS. G. KING.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE PROPOSALS OF THE MINORITY REPORT AFFECT CATHOLICS

THE Poor Law Commissioners issued their Report in the spring of 1909, and during the two years that have since elapsed a great deal of intelligent interest has been brought to bear upon it. The signatories of the Minority Report based their conclusions on the theory that the proper method of attacking the evils of poverty is to aim directly at the prevention of destitution. They pointed out that Local Authorities are already engaged in this work, and that the logical solution of the Poor Law difficulty is to break up the Poor Law and to transfer the various classes of persons, who are now being maintained by the Guardians, to the appropriate Local Authority, the sick to the Health Authority, children to the Education Authority, the aged to the Pensions Authority, the lunatics and feeble-minded to the Lunacy Authority, and the able-bodied to a National Labour Authority. This argument has since been strengthened in various ways. Thus the report of Doctor Newsholme on Infant Mortality, issued by the Local Government Board, and that of Doctor Newman on the Medical Inspection of School Children, issued by the Board of Education, show the importance which practical administrators attach to the adoption of preventive measures by Local Authorities. The knowledge of the condition of the poor which has been gained through the newly constituted Care Committees leads to the same conclusion, and the difficulty which members of these Committees have experienced in fixing parental responsibility, where the head of the family is a casual labourer, points to the necessity for the organisa-

tion of labour on the lines of the Minority Report. A National Labour Authority is now in existence to administer the newly created Labour Exchanges, and an elaborate measure of insurance against both sickness and unemployment has been introduced. So familiar indeed has the idea of the prevention of destitution become that a National Conference on the prevention of destitution has recently been held in London by the Central and Local Authorities for Public Health, Lunacy and Education, and the voluntary agencies associated with these services, together with the Government Departments dealing with the conditions of labour. The Lord Mayor of London presided, and the sectional presidents were Sir Alfred Mond (Unemployment), Sir William Chance (the Mentally Defective), Professor Sadler (Education), Sir T. Clifford Allbutt (Public Health), and the Hon. Mr Justice Phillimore (Legal and Financial).

To the supporters of the Minority Report all these events go to confirm their view that the present system of poor relief should be abolished. The continued existence of the old Poor Law merely hampers the development of other more progressive institutions which have grown up since its creation. The Poor Law of 1834 was the starting-point of the modern demand for public health from which this new movement for the prevention of destitution is derived. Now that the idea of the prevention of destitution has been generally accepted, there is no object in retaining the Poor Law. This aspect of the Minority Report—that its proposals follow logically from principles already admitted—is worth considering in some detail, as it enables those who are bewildered by the intricacies of the subject to see the significance of the Report as a whole. When this has been done, it will be possible to discuss, without danger of being misunderstood, the effect of the proposals on Catholics.

In 1838 the recently constituted Poor Law authorities, finding that sickness was one of the chief causes of poverty, began to demand powers for making sanitary improvements, and in 1846 they obtained the first Nuisance

Removal Act, the administration of which was put upon the Guardians. But this Act, which extended the activity of Boards of Guardians far beyond the mere relief of destitution, suggested a new method, and when, in 1848, as the result of a serious outbreak of cholera, the first Public Health Act was passed, the authorities appointed to execute the Act were no longer Boards of Guardians but local Boards of Health, specially elected for the purpose. In addition to their duties as sanitary authorities, the new Boards were given extensive powers to deal compulsorily with all cases of certain infectious diseases. This great Act was the origin of our present system of local government, for it gave an impetus and a direction to municipal enterprise which from that time forward steadily advanced; it constituted, moreover, the first breach in the walls of the Poor Law, because it abolished the distinction in cases of infectious illness between the destitute and the non-destitute. Disease was thus for the first time recognised as a social evil, and individuals were compelled, in the interests of the community, to take care of their health.

The interval between 1848 and 1875, during which municipalities began to exercise their new powers, is peculiarly interesting to the student of local government as the epoch during which the works of John Stuart Mill accustomed the people of England to the notion that good local government is a national concern, and that the abuses of peccant Boards of Guardians and incompetent municipal bodies are properly subject to correction by Whitehall. In 1870 the Local Government Board came into being. Very grave scandals had come to light in 1865 in connection with workhouse infirmaries, and the commotion that ensued spread over the whole domain of public health and forced the new Department to introduce the great consolidating Public Health Act of 1875. The Act of 1848 had been chiefly concerned with infectious diseases; the Act of 1875 prescribed a minimum standard of sanitation, having regard to all kinds of disease. Local government in boroughs and cities had by this time so far progressed that many towns had (comparatively) efficient municipal

authorities. Power was now given to these authorities to build hospitals and to provide medical service and medicine, without any limitation to particular classes of disease. Seven hundred municipal hospitals have been established under this Act, chiefly in recent years, for the promoters of the Act of 1875 were more perspicacious than their contemporaries. In 1870 the first Education Act was passed, and the State admitted its liability to provide a minimum of education to every child born into it, so that by 1875 national health and national education had both been accepted as inevitable political responsibilities. The reforms of 1870 and 1875 followed the extension of the franchise in 1867. The franchise was further extended in 1884, and "the principle of representative democracy became axiomatic in English Politics." Local self-government already existed in the towns as the result of the Public Health Acts; the extension of the franchise in the rural districts made local self-government inevitable there too, and in 1888 a Local Government Act was passed, by which popularly elected County Councils were established all over the country; and at the same time the government of towns was made to harmonise with that of the counties. The scheme was completed in 1894 by the creation of urban and rural districts.

Two forces produced this system. The one was the force of democracy, which destroyed the obsolete privileges of urban freemen and the autocracy of the county bench; the other was the growing recognition of the importance of public health. The democratic cravings have fairly been satisfied; the demands made in the name of public health become every year more and more exacting. For the notion of public health at first embracing little more than preventive sanitation now includes almost everything which in the material order distinguishes a civilised community from a barbaric. We have come to realise that disease is largely preventible, and that the best, and ultimately the cheapest, method of preventing it is to secure healthy environment, and to insist, as far as possible, on the observance of certain elementary rules of hygiene. To this source may be traced

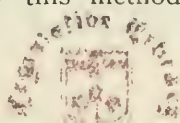
nearly all the activities of modern local authorities. Our Public Health Acts, together with such Acts as the Factory, Housing, Sale of Food and Drugs, Burial Acts and the like, all of which are administered by local authorities, constitute an elaborate code of public welfare. In 1902 the work of the School Boards established in 1870 was transferred to the County Councils. This has led in a very short space of time to a remarkable development in school hygiene. Health and education are too intimately connected to allow of one being considered without the other, and the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, relating to the medical inspection of school children, were inevitable. The health of children of school age depends upon the care devoted to them in infancy, and while attention was being directed to this important truism the rate of infant mortality was discovered to be excessive. The Notification of Births Act, 1907, was an encouragement to local authorities to take the problem of infant mortality in hand, and further encouragement has been given by the report of Dr Newsholme, to which reference has already been made. As for other classes of the sick the seven hundred municipal hospitals provide more accommodation than all the voluntary hospitals put together. There are more health visitors than relieving officers, sickness is notified, medicine is supplied, vermin is removed from persons and clothes, municipal out-patients departments are provided at voluntary hospitals, nurses are sent out to cases away from the hospital and home aliment is allowed. We have only to extend all over the country practices at present confined to places where the authorities are most alert to have a complete public medical service.

Municipal activity has proceeded beyond the care of the young and of the sick. In 1886 Mr Chamberlain endeavoured to provide in Birmingham, otherwise than by means of the Poor Law, for skilled artisans thrown out of work by temporary or seasonal fluctuations of trade. His example was followed by other municipalities, and a regular system has grown up of providing relief works in times of

distress. It has never been suggested that this interference with the Poor Law was unwarranted or in any way outside the proper scope of a local authority. Experience has since shown that the problem of unemployment is national rather than local, and that relief works, as ordinarily adopted, do more harm than good; but this does not affect the view that the well-being of the able-bodied is as much the concern of Local Authorities as the well-being of any other class of the community. The measures to be taken must, however, be effective. To-day, therefore, Local Authorities are becoming, through the Labour Exchanges, instruments of a national Labour Authority instead of being independent and autonomous organisations. Finally the aged have been handed over from the Poor Law to the County Councils by the Old Age Pensions Act of 1909, and thus all classes of the community—infants, children, the sick, the able-bodied and the aged—are now receiving public assistance from authorities other than those of the Poor Law. Local Authorities are striving to enforce what may be called a minimum standard of life, adopting the methods suggested by the promoters of the Public Health Acts for enforcing a minimum standard of health and sanitation. Local Authorities are not concerned with the destitute as such. A very large number of those who benefit by the services of Local Authorities are destitute, but they receive these services not in the quality of paupers but in the quality of citizens, and the destitute and the non-destitute receive the same services. It is true that Local Authorities have not yet made complete provision for all. There are many infants and sick persons uncared for by Local Health Authorities; many old people for whom the Pensions Act of 1909 is not sufficient. But these obvious facts need not blind us to the real effect of the development of local government. There are, for instance, comparatively few children of school age for whom the local Education Authorities do not provide, and it cannot be suggested that these authorities are not competent to make provision for the rest if the Guardians and the police would surrender their industrial and reformatory schools. But once the claim of the Education Authorities

is admitted to do their best for all the children, whether they are destitute or not, the whole case for a co-existing Poor Law breaks down. Children alone are not privileged; infants, the sick of all ages, the old and infirm, some at any rate of the able-bodied, are equally deserving. Moreover, it is not as if there was anything new in this attempt to do the best for them. The theory upon which the Poor Law is based is that adequate provision should be made for the destitute, but the Poor Law consistently fails to make this provision, whereas the Local Authorities succeed so far as they have gone. An Authority such as is the Poor Law, which imposes a test of destitution as a condition precedent to giving aid, finds itself in this dilemma. On the one hand, it is anxious to make the best provision consistent with reasonable economy for the sick, for widows, for the children and for the aged, and also (though the attempt has never in fact been made) for the able-bodied; on the other hand, it is bound to deter these very people from taking advantage of public assistance. In other words, it cannot make adequate provision for the destitute without pauperising those who could well maintain themselves. The alternative method, which is that of the Local Authorities, is to make the necessary provisions first, regardless of whether the family is destitute or not, and afterwards to secure repayment from those who can afford it, according to definite schedules, based partly on the nature of the services rendered, partly on the income of the recipient, some services, *e.g.* education, being entirely free. Instead of waiting till the applicant has become so reduced by sickness or privation as to accept any provision, however inadequate or however dishonourable, the Local Authorities search out incipient disease and incipient neglect, and deal with the evil before serious damage is done. The responsibility of the head of the family is not removed, but care for its preservation is not allowed to stand in the way of prompt preventive measures in the interest of the members of the family. When these measures have been taken is time enough to fix parental responsibility.

There is no reason why this method should not be



adopted by the Guardians (if they are prepared to face a reversal of the Poor Law), except that it would involve a perfect duplication of local bodies. Everywhere there would be two Health Authorities entirely independent of one another, two Education Authorities, two Lunacy Authorities, two authorities for the aged, two authorities for the able-bodied. It is surely simpler to let the Poor Law disappear as one after another of the classes in its charge pass entirely to other authorities. The pensionable aged have gone, the children have almost gone, the new-born infants have gone. A few years should see the transference of all classes of the non-able-bodied to their appropriate Local Authorities.

The indigent able-bodied would still remain to be dealt with, and if we include, as we must, their dependent families, there is left a very large proportion of pauperism. Local Authorities have done nothing for the unemployed except to make experiments revealing their own incompetence and the need of a national scheme. The failure of the Poor Law is too plain to need description. We are writing, therefore, on a clean slate. Moreover, the nature of the reform is simple enough. A genuine unemployed workman, who cannot provide for himself and his family, has a right to honourable maintenance, in return for which he may be compelled to undergo training of some kind or another; the "undeserving," who neglect their families, must be made liable to legal penalties.

This principle, which is sometimes, though inaccurately, called "the right to work," for it is the right to honourable maintenance in the absence of work, is analogous to the principle which we have adopted in the case of the non-able-bodied. Only during a comparatively short period, from about 1870 to about 1888, was the policy deliberately pursued of making maintenance of the non-able-bodied disgraceful. Since then we have been doing our best to remove the stigma of pauperism from deserving cases. The difficulty is to separate the sheep from the goats, and it is one of the chief counts of the indictment of the Poor Law that it fails to do this. In the case of the able-bodied

the policy of making maintenance disgraceful was deliberately pursued from the reign of Elizabeth down—so far as the Statute Book shows—to the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1904, which made provision for giving work or maintenance under training to the deserving unemployed without recourse to the Poor Law. Conspicuous attacks were made on the policy during the cotton famine in Lancashire and later by Mr Chamberlain in Birmingham. Municipal relief works were directed to the same end; but Mr Long's Act of 1904 was a declaration by the Legislature that the municipalities were right in their desire to take the unemployed out of the Poor Law, but that they were wholly unequipped for the task they were undertaking. A national authority is necessary. It is only one step from Mr Long's Act to the principle of the "right to work." The object of the Act was to carry the principle into practice; the Act was limited in scope by the exigencies of the industrial situation, and not upon any theory that the principle itself should be limited. If Mr Long's Act is approved the so-called "right to work" principle is approved.¹

The principle cannot however be universally applied until considerable reforms have been effected. Schemes for a better organisation of labour, for insurance against sickness and unemployment, and for the more even distribution of public works from year to year are essential if we are not to have a host of genuine unemployed men on our hands who are unable to provide for themselves. The amount of genuine unemployment is at present unknown. Chaos reigns in the world of labour. Under employment, excessive hours, sweating, and many notorious evils still prevail, and it will be some time before they are abolished. But though the amount of genuine unemployment is an uncertain quantity, we are continually getting nearer to the truth, and are therefore nearer to the time when it will be possible to say of any able-bodied man whether or not he is genuinely unemployed, and to ascertain more accurately than is possible at present what his average earnings

¹ The authors of the Act, however, have repudiated this proposition.

are. When that time arrives the Local Authority which has, for instance, provided medical attendance to his wife, or has fed his children at school, will then make the statutory charges for such service based on the man's known income, and if the man is unemployed, will see that he is sent to the proper establishment provided by the National Labour Authority.

Local Authorities will render their services, regardless of the family income, the moment it is brought to their notice that the minimum requirements of health are not being satisfied. Owing to the fact that they will be able to ascertain family incomes they will be able to enforce a high standard of well-being without fear of pauperising the people of the district. We all benefit from the rates—rich and poor—and to that extent we all depend on them. If we have nothing of ourselves except what we receive out of the rates we are paupers; if having something we yet make no return for what we receive out of the rates we are pauperised. We stop “pauperising” therefore, not by discouraging Local Authorities, but by a better organisation of the labour market. Here, finally, we see the difference between the Poor Law, which has finished its course, and the Local Government authorities, which are beginning theirs. The one succeeds when it does as little as possible; its aim is to reduce the number of “paupers” at any one time under its care. The Local Authorities, on the other hand, care for nothing but efficiency. It is a matter of indifference to them whether they feed many children or few, provided all are fed. It may be a matter for regret, as it is a source of expense, that many should have to be fed, but the test of efficiency is not numbers but the general well-being of the district.

Turning now to the effect of the abolition of the Poor Law upon Catholics and Catholic interests we see at once that the important change is not the transference to Local Authorities of duties at present undertaken by the Guardians, but the acceptance of a different view of our responsibilities to the poor. The problem of poverty is no longer the relief, but the prevention, of destitution. Destitution arises

almost entirely from neglected infancy, neglected childhood, sickness, and unemployment. In order to cope with these evils we must deal with them beforehand; we must prevent parents from neglecting their children; we must search out incipient disease and attempt the cure before it is too late; we must so organise the labour market as to reduce unemployment to its natural minimum and distinguish the genuine from the voluntary unemployed, making honourable provision where necessary for the former, and deterring the latter from idleness. Now, the prevention of destitution in this sense involves, as we have seen, the maintenance of a standard of civilised life below which no one shall be allowed to sink. The parents who, under the pressure of the Local Education Authority, are induced and compelled to send their children to school from 5 to 14 years of age, are not only effectually deterred from living on their children's earnings, but are also prevented from so far neglecting their offspring as to fail to get them to school regularly and punctually or to maintain them in a state fit for admission to school according to a standard that is constantly rising. What is true of elementary school-children is true of all other sections of the population. The State, according to this theory, lays upon every individual the obligation to maintain himself and those dependent upon him at a certain level of well-being, and takes upon itself the duty of making provision for the fulfilment of these obligations whenever its interposition is necessary. Thus all cases of what may be called honest destitution, which at present stir the pity of the philanthropist and tempt him to palliate (and therefore prolong) evils which are really remediable, will be dealt with by the appropriate local authority. The deserving widow, instead of having to rely on chance gifts in order to be saved from the undeserved shame of the workhouse or upon relief, will be properly provided for either by the local Education Authority (if she has children) or by the local Health Authority (if she has not), in whatever way the circumstances of her case may demand. The State will not permit her to become

destitute, for it is the basis of the new system that the State ought to and can prevent destitution. There will be no room therefore for that particular form of charity which consists in small gifts of necessities; there will be no more soup kitchens, no more distribution of blankets and coals, no more coppers for beggars. This may cause a pang to some, but those who realise the great moral injury which has been done to the poor by this kind of charity in the past will rejoice at its disappearance.

But the abolition of the need for petty almsgiving does not dispense with the need for charitable service. So far indeed is this suggestion from the truth that the proposals of the Minority Report depend for their success on the co-operation of a large number of volunteer workers.

The Minority Commissioners assign to voluntary agencies quite a different sphere of activity (to that assigned to them by the Majority)—one, indeed, which the more progressive among them have already claimed as their own. The time has gone by when we can separate the poor into two classes, so as to confine the assistance of the voluntary agencies to one only of these classes, the smaller of the two, and so as to restrict their work to the relief of a destitution which has already occurred, instead of the more hopeful task of helping to prevent the very occurrence of destitution by resisting its several causes. It is impossible in the twentieth century for the Local Authority to part with its responsibility as regards any of the inhabitants of its district; but, on the other hand, it is coming more and more clearly to be seen that it is impracticable for it to fulfil this responsibility except by the aid of a large number of volunteer workers. The modern relation between the public authority and the voluntary worker is one of systematically organised partnership under expert direction. Thus, according to the proposals of the Minority Report, every case requiring notice or action of any sort will be dealt with both by voluntary workers and by the public authority, each in its own appropriate sphere, and each according to its special opportunities. The children of the district will not be divided between a Voluntary Aid Committee and the Public Assistance Committee, some being dealt with wholly by the one and the rest wholly by the other. The local

Education Authority must remain wholly responsible for preventing any kind of neglect in all the children of the district; but we already see its work in the most progressive districts dependent for its success upon the co-operation of a whole series of school managers, Children's Care Committees, County Holiday Fund Committees, "Spectacle Committees," Apprenticeship Committees, and what not. The Local Health Authority cannot cede to any voluntary agencies its responsibilities for the maintenance in health of all the population in its district; but the Medical Officer of Health needs to recruit, and is, in scores of towns, already recruiting, a whole army of volunteers in the Health Visitors, the organisers of Schools for Mothers, the nursing associations, the managers of convalescent homes, the "after-care" committees, the committees of voluntary institutions for cripples and epileptics, and so on. Even with regard to the newer public service in connection with mentally defective children, aged pensioners, or the unemployed, abundant use is already beginning to be made for the voluntary worker. The Minority Commissioners look, under their scheme, for an enormous extension of the sphere for volunteer work of this sort, organised in connection with one or other of the Committees of the County or County Borough Council. Each committee needs its own fringe of voluntary workers, who will act as its eyes and ears and fingers in keeping touch with the huge masses of population with which it has to deal, and will enable it both to "search out" all the cases that need attention, irrespective of any application, and to invest the official machinery with that touch of personal interest and human sympathy which is so necessary for its successful working. And that fringe is already there. It is significant that the immediate result of the assumption by the London Education Authority of its new duties of feeding and medically inspecting the children of school age was the call, by the London County Council, for 7,000 volunteers to fill its Children's Care Committees alone. . . . The Minority Report involves, in short, vastly greater numbers of voluntary workers than does the Majority Report, and assigns to them both a more important and a more hopeful sphere than the helping of particular individuals to "keep off the rates."¹

¹ English Poor Law Policy, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (Longmans, 1910, p. 318).

It is unnecessary to labour the point that into this army of volunteer workers Catholics must enlist, and that such societies as those of St Vincent de Paul and the Ladies of Charity, not to speak of all the charitable organisations which exist in every parish, will find a wider scope for their activities than ever before.

Passing from what may be called casual charity to the organised arrangements for receiving destitute Catholics into institutions suitable to their age and sex, we have to notice several important modifications which the adoption of the Minority Report will ultimately involve. Here again the essential part of the reform is not, for example, the transference to the local Education Authority of schools and institutions at present certified under the Poor Law, but the extension to all charitable institutions of the right to claim a place in the national scheme for the prevention of destitution. Thus, the great Rescue Homes in London and Liverpool, instead of being entirely dependent on the uncertain offerings of the charitable, will rest on national support. The boys and girls in these Homes have been rescued from parental neglect. Such rescue work is an undertaking for which, according to the Minority Report, a local authority is responsible. If there were no Catholic homes for these children, the Education Authorities would have to find accommodation for them somewhere, and therefore Father Bans and Father Berry would be entitled to a grant for every child they received, subject, of course, to inspection by the local authority concerned. The same practice would apply to every other charitable institution. Nazareth House and Homes for the Aged in various parts of the country would receive allowances from the Pension Committee of the County or County Borough Council for their inmates; or if hospital work was undertaken the Local Health Authority would see that the proper grants were made for patients. Once the principle is realised that the State is responsible for the prevention of destitution it becomes clear that voluntary establishments engaged in preventive work and complying with the conditions which Local Authorities may impose

will be entitled to look to the State for the repayment of their expenses. The need for providing Catholic institutions capable of earning such grants, the cost of which will fall upon the charity of Catholics, will still continue; but the actual maintenance of persons, whether old or young, who would otherwise become destitute, will no longer be charged to Catholic resources.

The prevention of destitution on the lines of the Minority Report is still in the future. Moreover, it will not be achieved in a day; and it would be idle to suppose that in a year or two we shall entirely alter our methods of charity. But it is well to grasp the direction in which we are moving, and for those who support as well as for those who oppose the Minority scheme to appreciate the significance of its proposals. They involve this, to put the matter briefly, that voluntary donations made with the object of providing necessities for those who would otherwise lack them will tend to be superseded by supplies drawn from the pocket of the taxpayer, and that, as far as Catholics are concerned, charity, in the restricted sense of voluntary money payments, will be limited to the provision of more abundant religious facilities for our fellow Catholics. But the degree of limitation will depend upon Catholic ideas of the provision of these facilities. If we are content to rest where we are, with our elementary schools, our training colleges, our homes for the aged and one or two hospitals, we may be inclined to feel that our charitable energies are slackening; but if we endeavour to keep pace with the growing activity of the secular authorities we shall not lack demands upon our purses. For instance, elementary schools will be improved, and this improvement will be followed by better secondary and technical schools, and these will tend to encourage the growth of popular universities, and into all these there will be need for Catholic influences of one kind or another to be introduced by building and staffing our own schools, by founding scholarships and houses of residence at the universities, and generally in whatever way may be suitable. Again, the creation of labour colonies and training establishments will

offer a wide field for Catholic enterprise. The foundation of a Catholic labour colony is often suggested by non-Catholics, who have seen that whatever success has attended the Salvation Army colonies has been due to their religious character, and who are confident that Catholics, with a deeper hold on religion, would be far more successful. There will always be room for pioneer work in the treatment of social diseases. Public authorities step in when voluntary bodies have shown the way. Thus, the care of the feeble-minded, a most delicate problem, is well worthy of the charity of Catholics. Special homes and special treatment may disclose the best method of relieving and helping these unfortunates. With so much to be done in every sphere of life, there is no real danger of the decay of charity, even if the building of churches and the endowment of missions and dioceses counted for nothing.

BERTRAND W. DEVAS.

[NOTE.—This article was written before Mr Lloyd George's Insurance Bill was introduced; and if it had been possible I should have liked to have modified one or two passages in order to bring what I have said into line with the new development. The Insurance Scheme attacks the problem of sickness in a different way to that advocated in the Minority Report; but though the method is different I venture to think, in spite of the criticism of Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb, that it will succeed in creating a unified medical service, working in connection with Local Health Authorities, and thus open the way to other measures for the Prevention of Destitution. The part dealing with Unemployment has almost entirely escaped criticism.—B. W. D.]

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CATHOLIC STUDIES IN SOCIAL REFORM



A SERIES OF MANUALS

EDITED BY

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD

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II.

SWEATED LABOUR AND THE TRADE BOARDS ACT

EDITED BY

The Rev. Thomas Wright

President of the Hull Branch of the Catholic Social Guild



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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Wise Man wrote, "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety,"¹ he presumably had in view a society wherein the fundamental principles of belief and conduct were not in dispute. Nowadays his assertion cannot be accepted without much qualification. In matters of purely temporal concern, it is doubtless prudent to hear every side before coming to a decision ; but in matters affected by the unchanging moral law, it is prudence that suggests recourse to whatever authority exists to preserve and interpret that law. Catholics believe that they have such an authority in the Church of Rome, and to the teaching of that Church they naturally turn when faced with any project of political or social reform which has a moral bearing. In the multitude of counsellors that beset them safety, they feel, lies in following that one in whom the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom permanently abides.

The series of Manuals on Social Questions, of which the present volume is the second to appear, has been planned by the Catholic Social Guild with the express

¹ Prov. xi. 14.

object of examining current problems of citizenship in the light of Christian principles, thus furnishing, for the benefit of those who are bewildered by the number and variety of the social panaceas proposed, some means of distinguishing what is ethically sound from what is based upon false or distorted ideals. As has often been pointed out, it is no part of the Church's direct mission to originate or promote works of merely worldly utility. Her business is to teach the individual to observe the laws of justice towards God and man, and so secure his soul's salvation. She rejoices, of course, in the fact that their observance is also highly conducive to the well-being of the community, but that is not her first or chief care.

Hence it is that the Church claims, in the interest of her children, the right of criticising such measures of social betterment as are not entirely material in their scope and effect. Those who believe in her claims have no difficulty in accepting her decisions, for they know that the Divine assistance, which guarantees the correctness of her final judgments on moral questions, operates also to prevent her judging on insufficient or unsafe grounds. Where principles of morality are not involved, or where their precise application is really doubtful, she is careful not to interfere with the liberty of her members.

In this series, then, it is proposed, after a sketch of the history of each question, to show in what points

and in what degree Catholic doctrine is involved, what projects are, at least negatively, sound, what motives exist for energetic action, and what Catholic agencies are already at work. It will thus be abundantly clear that the Church, which played so prominent a part in social reform in the past, has a distinct and very salutary message for the present generation—a message which it is the duty of her faithful members to promulgate with all the zeal and energy in their power.

INTRODUCTION

MUCH has already been published on the Sweating Problem. Another book on the subject may seem to cater for a demand long since over-supplied. If the last word on sweating had been said and the contributors to this little work had brought nothing more than worn-out argument and stale fact, our venture were surely worse than idle. We are bold enough to think, however, that "Sweated Labour and the Trade Boards Act" is not a threadbare question in a new garb. Since 1908, the year in which appeared the Blue-book on Home Work, the social evil of sweating has undergone considerable change. Its history has entered upon a fresh phase, which, except in desultory writings, has not hitherto been stated. We have endeavoured to collect the scattered data and to bring the subject up to date. We believe that the recent

information contained in these pages is of sufficient interest to acquit us of the charge of triteness.

However that may be, we cannot be accused of repeating worn-out argument. For the first time the Catholic aspect of the sweating evil has been presented with any fulness in the English tongue. Whether the reader agrees or disagrees with our point of view, he will at least acknowledge that until it had been put the last word on sweating had not been written.

As this little work has been primarily written for Catholics the hints regarding co-operation for the redress of sweating have been confined to Catholic organisations. Should the book have the good fortune to fall into the hands of those outside the Church, we trust that it may prove of sufficient practical suggestiveness to enable them to devise some means through their own religious or social societies of espousing the cause of the sweated.

An excellent bibliography on the question of sweating is given in "Books for Catholic Social Students," p. 24 (published by the C.T.S., price one penny).

The Editor desires to acknowledge his great personal indebtedness to Mr. J. J. Mallon, Secretary of the National Anti-Sweating League, and to the Rev. Charles Plater, S.J., for their valuable assistance in the compilation of the book.

THOMAS WRIGHT.



SWEATED LABOUR

AND

THE TRADE BOARDS ACT

CHAPTER I

SWEATING—DEFINED AND EXPLAINED

SWEATING means that

“work is paid for at a rate which, in the conditions under which many of the workers do it, yields to them an income which is quite insufficient to enable an adult person to obtain anything like proper food, clothing, and house accommodation.”¹

Originally sweating denoted a method of sub-contract, by which the middleman was enabled in certain trades to victimise the helpless poor

“by making an altogether inadequate payment for work upon which he obtained a large and quite disproportionate profit.”

While this system of shameful injustice has always existed in the lowest strata of our commercial enterprise and exists to an appreciable extent nowadays, sweating has for many years included a much wider area of unfair dealing. Thus the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System, appointed in

¹ Report of the Select Committee on Home Work, No. 246, p. iii., § 3.

1888 under the presidency of Lord Dunraven, reported that

“although we cannot assign an exact meaning to sweating, the evils known by that name are shown in the foregoing pages of the Report to be :—

- (1) An unduly low rate of wages.
- (2) Excessive hours of labour.
- (3) The insanitary state of the houses in which the work is carried on.”

Yet while they attested as their deliberate judgment that the evils of sweating “can hardly be exaggerated,” the evils remained rampant, almost as unrestricted as ever. Befogged in accidental issues, the Committee had lost sight of the one essential point. The question of sweating is a question of wages, and to trouble about an amelioration of sanitary conditions and excessive hours of work so long as the wage question remained unanswered is akin to worrying about the trimming of the beard when the face of society is bruised and gashed. Had Lord Dunraven and his Committee focused their attention on the unduly low rate of wages, their painstaking report would have brought the country to grips with the problem. As it was, their muddled description left sweating precisely where it stood : the same methods, the same theories, and the same ideals have been carried out by employers—no doubt, to a considerable degree, in spite of themselves—with the result that wages have in most of the sweated industries been gradually cut finer and yet more fine ; insanitary conditions have continued through domestic uncleanness, with a like danger to public health, even though drainage, ventilation, and all that constitutes structural sanitation have improved, and the increased difficulty in obtaining the means of subsistence has necessarily entailed either protracted hours of labour or the demoralising aid of the Poor Law.¹ The sum-total of the investigation of the Lords’ Committee amounted to an immense store of evidence concerning

¹ Report, p. iii., § 3.

sweating but an almost complete lack of suggestion for the mitigation of the evil.

It is with gratification that we turn to the level-headed and courageous Report on Home Work of the House of Commons Select Committee, compiled in 1908, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Whittaker. Unquestionably circumstances favoured the Committee. Twenty years had elapsed since the sitting of the House of Lords Commission, a period full of helpful and suggestive incident. The experience gained from the Dunraven Committee, the development of the factory and health laws at home, the knowledge of the successful working of legalised Wages and Conciliation Boards in the colonies, the advent of a new school of economists, the sympathy aroused by the dramatic *Daily News* Sweated Industries Exhibition, the ceaseless and effective action of the National Anti-Sweating League, had all assisted to perfect the chart, and the House of Commons Committee were able, not only to steer safely, but to sail in on a flowing tide.

Straightway they made for the heart of their task.

“In the opinion of your Committee, the second proposal—for the establishment of Wages Boards—goes to the root of the matter, in so far as the object aimed at is an increase in the wages of the home workers. No proposals which fail to increase the income of these people can have any appreciable effect in ameliorating their condition. Improved cleanliness in many cases is very desirable, but the poverty, the miserably inadequate income of so many of the home workers is the great difficulty of the situation. With an increase in their earnings, many of the other undesirable conditions which intensify and in turn are aggravated by the ever-present burden of grinding poverty would be appreciably modified and improved.”¹

By these facts, comparisons, and brief criticisms, the real nature of the sweating evil will be readily understood. As a basis all must concede that the definition of the Whittaker Committee is sound; it embodies the principle of the living wage—the principle

¹ Report, p. xii., § 32.

at stake : in extension it is wide enough to cover both classes of workers affected by sweating, viz., the home and the factory workers.

Another explanatory word seems necessary in view of a popular but very misleading exaggeration. It is stated that 30 per cent. of the population are on the "verge of starvation." Now if by starvation it is meant to convey that the needs of the sweated are so extreme as to threaten life, the assertion is at complete variance with authoritative facts. It has been observed with much point that were so large a proportion of the population "on the verge of starvation," there would be many deaths from starvation. The Annual Report of the Local Government Board, issued recently, affirms on coroners' returns that deaths due to or accelerated by starvation for the year 1909 number 119, of which 54 occurred in London and 65 in the provinces. The political Socialist renders small service to the cause of the oppressed by an overstatement or a misconstruction of facts. If "the earnings of a large number of people are so small as alone to be insufficient to maintain life in the most meagre manner," their miserable earnings do not stand alone, supplemented as they are in so many cases by charitable and Poor Law "relief."¹ The "verge of starvation" being interpreted is equivalent to the brink of pauperism.² On that account the definition of sweating contains the words "to obtain anything like proper food, clothing, and house accommodation." The widespread need of a decent livelihood, not the total lack of the necessities for subsistence, forms the pressing problem of which the Trade Boards Act is a tentative, and we trust a successful, solution.

Some Examples of Sweating.

Since sweating is actual and concrete, some examples are essential for any adequate conception of its nature.

¹ Report, iii., § 3.

² "The Creed of Socialism," by Joseph Rickaby, S.J., M.A., pp. 22-3

A lifeless list of low-rated payments, however, made by a large number of sweated trades will do little to impress the reader. A brief account of the conditions under which the poor remuneration of a few industries is earned will serve a more useful purpose, and by an obvious preference our choice falls upon the one or two trades specified by the Trade Boards Act.

The largest sweated industry is Wholesale Tailoring. The most general description of tailoring represents the trade trunk bearing two distinct branches, machining and finishing. Machining is

“that process which consists of running all the seams by machine and putting the garment together.”

“Finishing includes everything after the seams have just been sewn up—that is, the turning up of the hems and hemming them, the finishing off where the machine has left loose ends, the binding round the tops, the buttonholes in many cases, and the putting in of the lining which has been already seamed.”

Sometimes it happens that finishing will likewise involve pressing, a long and exacting work, which on account of the small space at the disposal of the home-workers is “rendered extremely difficult and often brings them under penalties of fines for damage to the goods.” Tailoring varies considerably in different districts. In London the home-workers complete the whole process of making, *i.e.*, both the machining and finishing of the garments, while at Leeds homework is almost altogether confined to finishing. The prices paid in London for boys’ knickers machining and finishing is 2d. per pair: men’s coats realise from 4d. to 9d. each, vests with five pockets 3½d. each. The pay for common coats at Bristol ranges from 4d. to 8d. each and vests from 6d. to 8d. Trousers are made throughout at Reading for 4d., 5d., and 6d. per pair. For finishing a dozen pairs of trousers, including pressing, a London worker will commonly receive 2s. 9d., and 1s. 3d. to 1s. 9d. without pressing, and the rate

at Leeds is yet lower. Nor yet must it be supposed that the figures quoted show the exact earnings of the workers, for the machinists have to provide themselves both with machine and cotton, and since the adverse interpretation of the Truck Act of 1896 against these defenceless operatives, exorbitant fines are sometimes imposed with impunity in the case of damaged work.

The lace industry has its own technical processes, such as drawing, clipping, scolloping, and ripping, terms which have little meaning to those outside the trade. Rates of pay are adjusted according to the different kinds of work, and also according to the pattern of the work. It is clear that any attempt to value labour on the basis known to the lace-workers would be unintelligible to the ordinary reader. An estimate, if somewhat wide, but exact enough for our purpose, has been arrived at by taking the average rate of payment: the best class of work yields 3d. and 4d. an hour; 1d. and 2d. an hour are the usual rates for the commoner class. Striking a mean, then, the lace-worker averages from 1d. to 3d. an hour, and if she be a skilled hand and capable of carrying through any process in the trade, she may by systematic labour earn from 8s. to 13s. a week. But the lace industry is subject to great fluctuation and regular employment is by no means certain.

It has been stated on reliable testimony that children of no more than six years of age have been forced by their mothers to work in order to assist them in increasing their poor wage. This dread aspect of the Nottingham lace trade has been vividly depicted by Miss Squire in her evidence before the Home Work Committee :—

“If you visit at dinner-time you find the children without having removed their hats or jackets busy at the lacework, and then something will be given to them to eat as they go to school. They will be at work in the evening on their return and in the neighbours’ houses as well as in their mothers’ houses.”

The danger to public health arising from sweating might be well illustrated by the machine-made lace trade, but as wages is the real issue of the problem, we must content ourselves on this point with a passing allusion. In estimating the amount of earnings of the sweated workers in the manufacture of lace, serious note must be taken of the presence of the middle-woman. None will deny that in many respects the middle-woman is a beneficent helper. She receives the webs from the warehouse, portions out the work, collects and returns it. She is held responsible by the manufacturer for the cleanliness of the lace and the efficiency of the work done. She has to meet incidental expenses. Though a manufacturer has maintained that she is not too highly paid, she claims for her services a fifth, a fourth, and sometimes even a greater fraction of the earnings of the workers. What these deductions of farthings and halfpennies mean to the workers will be readily calculated: on a week's work 8s. become 6s., and the subtraction of 2s. is a subtraction, not from luxuries or superfluities but from the bare necessities of subsistence. But no guarantee to stand by the tariff prices of labour can be given for the middle-woman. While as a class they may deal fairly by the employees, cases of truck payment have within recent time been brought to light.

The Extent of Sweating.

To what extent sweating obtains defies precise statement. Nor is an accurate computation necessary for the purpose of this chapter. Surely it suffices to know that the under-payment of labour is prevalent enough in nearly all parts of the country to constitute a national evil.¹ It has been ascertained with some approximation to truth that about three hundred thousand workers are affected in the four scheduled trades of the Trades Boards Act, yet what do numbers count when, not four, but more than a score of trades

¹ Report, p. iii., § 3.

foster the sweating evil? A list of such industries embraces

"tailoring in all its branches, wholesale dressmaking (which includes the making up of mantles, jackets, blouses, pinafores, aprons, and skirts), the white trade (shirts and all kinds of underwear except hosiery), the cheap boot and shoe trade, chain and nail industries, the making of locks, latches, keys, and files, clipping and finishing machine-made laces and nets; cap-making, tie-making, belt-making; making, repairing and finishing of umbrellas and sunshades, artificial flower-making, tent and sack-making, covering of racquet and tennis balls, box-making, paper bag making, glove-making, beadwork, manufacture of clay pipes and cigarette-holders, military embroidery, cheap saddlery, shawl-fringing, carding and boxing of buttons and hooks and eyes, brush-making, feather-sorting, fur-pulling and sewing, basket-making and the manufacture of stuffed toys."¹

To the employees in the above-mentioned trades must be added a large number of labouring men, *e.g.*, dockers and the unskilled in the iron-trade, whose earnings are insufficient to prevent them from sinking below the line of "primary poverty." Nevertheless, while the trades enumerated are often called the "sweated industries," and the social disease thus created has been popularly designated the "sweating system," we owe it both to the trades and to ourselves to guard against the over-statement involved in these terms. Exceptions, in which a fair standard of payment for labour is maintained, are frequently found in the sweated industries.²

The Causes of Sweating.

The causes of sweating may be considered from two standpoints—concrete economic facts and abstract economic principles—but it is obvious that the true nature of the problem can only be conceived by a study which shows distinctly the relation of fact to principle.

¹ "The Case for Wage Boards," Constance Smith, pp. 10-12.

² Report, p. 1, the evidence of Mr. Douglas Sholto Douglas.

In Section 10 of the Report on Home Work, "eleven facts" are stated to explain "why their earnings are small."¹ These facts may be classified under two heads—viz., Labour Competition and Trade Competition. The readiness with which unskilled work can be accomplished, the preference of the home to the factory as a workplace on the part both of employer and employee, the selection of only the fittest, the most alert, the most regular, and the most trustworthy for the factory, are reasons for the overflow in the labour market, and, supply exceeding demand, for the consequent cheapness of labour. Of set purpose women vie with women, the young with the old, the strong with the feeble, those in dire need of a livelihood with wives and daughters who live in comfort and whose work is little more than a hobby, so that the value of labour of necessity depreciates. But an issue neither perceived nor understood is that the keenness of competition among female workers entails a fall in the price of men's labour. The lower the scale of payment for female labour descends, the further sinks the level to which the wages of men inevitably drop. The system forms a vicious circle, and the grinding grows as the circle widens its circumference. How far this truth may be applied to wages in general is a difficult and complex question, nor shall we pursue it, for its practical issue, if direct, is certainly not immediate. But its application to single groups of workers, *i.e.*, workers in the same trade, needs only to be stated to be accepted, borne out as it is both by economic science and the gruesome pages of the industrial history of England through the last hundred years or more.²

Under the division of Trade Competition may be briefly enumerated the following causes of sweating :—

¹ Report, pp. v. and vi., § 10.

² Ryan, "Living Wage," p. 226; "Catholicity and Progress in Ireland," Chap. VI., O'Riordan; "Industrial Democracy," Webbs, vol. ii., p. 765.

1. "Production in competition with machinery, and the cost of making the articles by machine," forming the basis of the rate of payment.

2. Competition with the general public.

3. Foreign competition.

4. Unorganisation of the workers.

5. The intervention of the middleman.

6. The "fierce competition" among the employers in some of the most sweated trades.

Of course these causes do not equally affect all the sweated industries alike. Nevertheless, viewing each cause in itself and assigning to it its due influence, the two chief sources of sweating are undoubtedly the unorganisation of the worker and the

"fierce competition by which the less reputable employers underbid their competitors and seek to recoup themselves by reducing the remuneration of the workers."

Like hounds, mutually assisting each other in their breathless chase of their weak and defenceless quarry, do they pursue the sweated workers.

The isolation of the home, if a boon to the sweated worker, has likewise been his curse. To the master it means evasion of the factory laws, a saving of rent and rates, a release from expenditure in plant, &c., but its greatest asset is that it leaves the worker unprotected and helpless. The manufacturer is immune from loss through strikes, almost from the discomfort of their threatenings. He is free to cut under the market prices so long as he may hope to realise a profit by squeezing his workers. Indeed, if altogether unscrupulous, he may regard the market as a field of adventure where the operatives have to take the risks of his plunging. Since labour is the only commodity remaining the price of which can be diminished, labour must always suffer. Hence the conclusion becomes clear that the more the value of labour is reduced, the greater grows the difficulty in uniting the labourers. It is not merely that they are unable to spare their weekly con-

tribution to the support of a union from their straitened resources, but, demoralised, unmanned, desperate, they are without heart to amend their lot.¹ "Fierce competition," however, is a factor nearer to the root of the evil of sweating than any other, and accordingly we deem it necessary to deal with it at some length.

Machinery will always remain a disturbing factor in the labour-market, and therefore will ever tend to disarrange wages. New inventions will be introduced, old inventions will be improved. In itself, however, the use of machinery, while adding to its complexity, does not place a lasting obstacle in the way of a sensible solution of the wage problem. Of this the history of Trade Unionism through the past fifty years is abundant proof. Similarly administrators of a scheme for a living wage have to face barriers such as the presence of the middleman, public competition, foreign competition, and the woeful state of disorganisation among the workers, but they are not dismayed by these formidable obstructions. Not that the complications involved by such perplexing questions can be lightly shelved, but already remedial measures have to some extent been applied with success. The spirit of "fierce competition" between manufacturer and worker and between capitalists themselves is, let it be repeated, the most obstinate cause of the prevalence of sweating, and the most virulent opponent to the principle of the living wage. *It is not merely that the unjust system of industrial rivalry among low-grade traders forms the whole or even the greater part of the difficulty, but that business as a whole is built upon an unethical competitive basis.* Else why has not sweating been condemned these fifty years? Else why have the afflicted workers had to wait till their case is extreme before the public mind realises the presence of a national evil, and only then devises a cure to be compulsorily applied? Business men of England may repudiate the fact with some show of honest indignation,

¹ Report, pp. vi. and vii., § 10.

but the fact remains that English business methods have more than tolerated sweating—in truth, have secretly abetted it. Ingrained notions, however baseless, offer almost as stubborn a defiance to any attempt to uproot them as first truths, and unbridled competition is held to be the life of our commercial methods. To put a restraint upon competition is to destroy business: history, science, the law of the land, the daily experience of the markets have all declared competition right, sound, and just. That a distinction between various degrees and shapes of competition should be observed, both for the sake of correct understanding and much more for fair dealing, is obvious, if one pauses to think, but the whirl of business permits little or no pause. For over three centuries custom has given its sanction to unchecked competition. Even at this distance of time the mass of the people, literate and illiterate alike, have failed to recognise that the religious revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was in effect a social and economic revolution as well, and that individualism in matters of faith was only a cloak to cover an individualistic theory regarding the rights of man. Oblivious to his own duties, or, what amounts to the same thing, to the rights of others, the capitalist sought to produce and possess, and so long as he kept within the bounds of the widest interpretation of favouring laws, he saved his good name and rested his elastic conscience. Economics and ethics became estranged from each other both in theory and in practice, and the natural and inevitable consequence of commerce uncontrolled by moral equity has been the immense fortune of the few and the degraded pauperism of the many. It was only such a system as this that could make the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century possible, and render a Government powerless to cope with the social upheaval attendant upon it. A crisis of the nature of the Industrial Revolution was bound to be met by a counter-policy. Through it the nation was stirred to give the first set-back to the spirit of

individualism. Production had had liberty, even unto licence, but licentious liberty had at length displayed its inherent injustice. Laws were passed for the protection of health and morals and for the regulation of hours of labour, and their penalties for infringement were a national confession that the balance between rights of capital and rights of labour had been overturned. Yet despite the enactment of factory laws to mitigate the conditions of the working class, Southey wrote in 1833, the year of the abolition of the black-slave trade: "The slave trade is mercy compared with the factory system." The public mind, however, worked very slowly and very confusedly. Nothing more incongruous can be imagined than that the extension of the factory laws should coincide with the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." While Smith was expounding a theory of economics which was in truth a scientific statement of the gospel of individualism, concurrent legislation proved it to be both false and immoral. The proof from law was undoubtedly meagre and weak; the real cause of the social evil was still hidden and the law was satisfied to lop off twigs and branches: it has taken a hundred years to discover where the root lies buried.

Smith's economics were distinctly partisan: he was all on the side of capital. Consumption he consigned to a happy chance. Thus economy, interpreted into the language of everyday life by man's ambition and greed for gain, resolved itself into a method of grab, in which the awards fell to the strong, the cunning, the unscrupulous, with small pity for the weak and defenceless, and with no great sympathy with the honest.

"Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest in his own way and bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man or other men,"¹

is Smith's judgment, and it expresses a sentiment specious enough to embalm the dead conscience of a

¹ "Wealth of Nations," Smith, Bk. IV. Chap. IX.

hemisphere. Evidently all will depend upon what Smith understood by "the laws of justice," and this he was careful to explain at the very beginning of his work.

"In exchanging the different productions of different sorts of labour for one another, some allowance is commonly made for both. It is adjusted, however, not by any accurate measure, but by the higgling and bargaining of the market, according to that sort of rough equality, which, though not exact, is sufficient for carrying on the business of common life."

Unquestionably Adam Smith was sincere in his conviction. As a practical economist he honestly believed that his theory was the sure, unfailing cure of the prevailing social ills. Justice of the rough-equality type would secure freedom in competition to satisfy any capitalist, while at the same time it guaranteed to the worker by reason of the increase in production a higher level of distribution. Whatever the inconsistencies of which Smith was guilty, his fatal mistake was in his optimistic view of human nature. As the fortune of Dives increased apace, Lazarus received more sparingly of the crumbs of his table. The school of economists which followed Smith developed the inequity of his system, and, whether the commercial world is conscious of it or not, the meagre fairness upheld by them is the standard according to which business relations for the most part continue down to the present day. The "higgling of the market" is a remorseless method of meting out justice, which at its best means the survival not necessarily of the fittest, and at its worst the bankruptcy of cut-throat and upright competitors alike and the pauperisation of the wage-earner. If there is room in the market for the honest entrepreneur or business-man—and his place is nowadays hard to hold—large space must be provided for the "sweater,"

"consisting in a stony heart, a brazen forehead, a deceitful tongue, the power of exacting from the workpeople the utmost

work, of taking the utmost advantage of the weakness and ignorance of others, the art of ruining rivals most utterly and expeditiously and of enticing the utmost possible number of victims to indulge in depraved consumption.”¹

Far from securing freedom of contract, the higgling of the market necessarily entails unrestrained competition, and the burden of injustice from unrestrained competition falls first upon the shoulders of enfeebled labour. Isolated, totally ignorant of market prices, pressed on all sides by dire necessity, the worker is evidently fettered, and not free, and as evidently under such circumstances the wage-bargain, presupposing as it does two sides more or less of equal knowledge and moral strength, is no bargain at all. Another point, no less absurdly wrong and as disastrous in its issue, is the current creed in business that labour is an “abstract idea.” To give labour a money value, irrespective of the worth of the labourer—his dignity as a man, his right to live, his duty to his family—is manifestly immoral. He may not justly be robbed of the coat on his back, he has a just claim to air for breath, but neither coat nor breath are more part of him than his labour, nor possible to him without it. Yet in the higgling of the market

“to-day men are of less consequence than machines: they are the servants of machines. The machine, in its wonderful development, has become almost human, while man has been reduced, as far as possible, to the condition of the machine.”²

Thinking men have for some time past pierced the bubble blown by Smith and his followers and have disclosed its vaporous absurdities. Another school of economists has arisen and has loudly condemned its unethical basis and economic wastefulness. When competition has abused its freedom so as to render sweating not to say actual but even possible, it has over-reached

¹ “Political Economy,” Devas, p. 113.

² Allen Clarke, quoted by O’Riordan: “Catholicity and Progress in Ireland,” p. 78.

the limits of liberty, and in the words of Viscount Milner "means industry essentially rotten and unsound."

From a practical point of view Trade Unions have long won great victories on behalf of the oppressed, and the organised labourer has in consequence been enabled to live in accord with the dignity that befits his manhood. At length Parliament, on behalf of the subjects for whose protection it is responsible, has interposed to stay unreined competition, and to secure for the unorganised sweated workers in home and factory a minimum living wage. The Trade Boards Act, 1909, is justice long over-due, but, being justice in its truest and strictest sense, may it prevail !

CHAPTER II

THE LIVING WAGE

1. *Introduction.*

THE social effects of a heresy, especially when it has had time to penetrate into the core of society, are, like its spiritual effects, disastrous. Protestantism, soaking for three centuries into the English nation, rotted out of it that wholesome germ of the Faith which during a thousand years had slowly energised Christian civilisation. The result was an oppression of the poor, more terrible in its extent and its persistence than any that had disgraced the Western world since the days of its paganism, as well as a social philosophy, justifying that oppression on principles which are a flat negation of Christian ethics. The schools of economic doctrine that started in England with Adam Smith and now, as the result of a series of reactions, culminate in the fashionable movement towards the servile State, have all put forward theories of wages, each contradictory of its predecessors and all profoundly anti-Christian. Yet time and the slow pressure of the patent consequences of a false philosophy have wrought a significant change. Of late years the conviction has been growing (owing largely to the Socialist criticism of industrialism) that, whatever may be the *maximum* resultant of all the forces influencing wages, the *minimum* should be fixed by the State, at such a point as will prevent the serious physical deterioration of its citizens and thence harm to itself. That is to

say, the patent failure of non-Christian economics to prevent an oppression of its weaker members disastrous to the community, has forced non-Christian theorists to approach again the traditional Christian theory of the remuneration of the worker.

2. *The Traditional Christian View.*

Now, the common Christian view, in this matter, as usual, in accord with the common sense of mankind, is that *it is but just that the labourer should be able to support himself and his family decently by the work of his hands*. This principle, which even to-day will seem axiomatic to almost the immense majority of ordinary toiling human beings, is proclaimed throughout the Old Testament,¹ is sanctified by our Lord and His Apostles,² and is taken for granted in the social teachings of the Fathers of the Church and the mediæval theologians. For, in the arguments of the schoolmen on the "just price" of commodities, their constant insistence was upon the cost of production as one of its main determinants, and in mediæval times labour was the chief item in cost of production. So, in estimating labour-cost, the just measure was always assumed to be the customary needs of the labouring class. There was, of course, in those days, no wage-system such as now prevails. There was customary service, there was apprenticeship, there was villeinage and the rest, but in all these relations of master and man it was assumed, as a minimum of just dealing, that the worker and his family should live by his toil in such rude comfort as was customary to his class. That this standard was not always attained, or was deliberately evaded by the covetous, is very probable. But the fact remains that this *was* the standard generally recognised and

¹ Deut. xxiv. 14, 15; Tob. iv. 15-17; Ps. cxxvii.; Prov. xiv. 23; Eccles. v. 17; Eccles. xxxiv. 25, 26; Mal. iii. 5.

² Luke x. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 7, 10; 2 Thess. iii. 8; Jas. v. 4.

officially taught, and any falling-off therefrom was considered reprehensible.¹ Certainly, the clear teachings of the schoolmen tended to be obscured and, in a sense, explained away in the period closely following the Reformation. The canonists and moral theologians displayed an increasing readiness to identify customary wages with just wages. This, however, is only an additional testimony to the universality of the opinion that the customary wage would, as a matter of course, be sufficient for the worker's needs. But, as is by no means uncommon, the reiterated phraseology of the learned in time ceased to correspond with reality, the assumptions underlying that phraseology ceased to apply to actual social conditions. The corroding influence of heresy upon human relationships, the industrial fruits of an exaggerated individualistic philosophy prevalent in the northern States of Europe, were not, as time went on, without some baneful influence even upon current Catholic opinion. By the eighteenth century the dicta of Reiffenstuel had practically translated the "customary wages" of the schoolmen into "current wages," and the "common estimate" of a just remuneration into what soon became the resultant of competitive bargaining.² But Archbishop Ketteler (1811-77), Canon Moufang (1817-89), Baron von Vogelsang (1818-91), Cardinal Manning (1808-92), and many others led the return to better things and, in 1891, the principle of the living wage was authoritatively pronounced by Pope Leo XIII. in his Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.³ In this great summary of economic justice the passages bearing on the living wage are of the highest importance.

¹ W. J. Ashley, "English Economic History," i., 181 (London, 1892-3); Henri Garnier, "De l'Idée du juste prix" (Paris, 1900); Victor Brants, "Les Théories économiques aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles" (Louvain, 1895).

² A. Reiffenstuel, "Jus Canonicum Universum," iii., Decretal, tit. xviii., 108-14 (Freising, 1700).

³ Published as No. 3 of the Catholic Social Guild Pamphlets, by the Catholic Truth Society.

"A man's labour," says the Pope, "has two natural characteristics. First, it is *personal*, for the exertion of strength is proper to an individual and belongs entirely to the person who both exercises it and was given it for his own advantage. Secondly, it is *necessary*, for the fruit of labour is the means whereby a man preserves his life, and the preservation of life is a dictate of nature that must be obeyed. Now, if we merely consider its *personal* aspect, there is no doubt that the workman has a right to accept wages as low as he may choose, for, just as he may work or not as he wishes, so he may accept low wages, or none at all, if he will. But if we consider the aspect of *necessity*, as well as that of personality (and the two are not really separable), the conclusion is very different. Self-preservation is really the duty of one and all, and it is a crime not to fulfil it. From it necessarily arises the right to procure those goods whereby life is sustained, and the poor can procure them in no other way than by wages for work. Let it be granted then that the workman and his master may freely make agreements, especially as to the amount of wages; nevertheless there is an underlying principle of natural justice, greater and older than any free desires of the contracting parties, to wit, that the wage must be sufficient to support a frugal and steady workman. For if the workman, compelled by his needs or influenced by fear of worse evils, agrees to harder terms, which he *must* unwillingly accept, because the master or contractor so insists, he becomes the victim of force that justice condemns."

In this Encyclical, then, it is officially laid down that *the labourer has a natural right, which neither he nor his employer can evade, to receive in return for his work a living wage*. It will be well to examine more fully

3. *The Nature of this Right.*

A "natural right" is an inviolable moral claim to the means whereby alone an individual can attain his natural end—*i.e.*, a meet and reasonable existence in this world. Every human being has a sacred and inviolable claim to all that is necessary to self-preservation and self-perfection, so far as this claim is capable of being satisfied and does not conflict with the equal claims of his fellows. And this claim is based on

nothing else than *his intrinsic worth as a person*, created by God in His own Image and Likeness, gifted with freewill and reason, destined to serve Him in this world and in the next. As his faculties and his duties are appointed to him by his Creator, so also is his right to the means by which alone he can exercise those faculties and fulfil those duties. Within reasonable limits this right is sacred, its validity depends solely on the will of the person to whom it belongs. Within those limits the natural rights of the individual must be respected by his fellows and protected, if need be, from arbitrary or unnecessary interference. And the limits of natural rights are determined by the indispensable needs of personal development; *i.e.*, as regards material goods, they extend to all things necessary to the proper development and enjoyment of the faculties given by God to each individual. Roughly speaking, all human beings have the same *number* of natural rights, for all human beings have the same end and approximately the same central faculties and rational nature.

"The most important of these [rights] are the rights to life, to liberty, to property, to a livelihood, to marriage, to religious worship, to intellectual and moral education."¹

All individuals possess all these rights to a greater or less degree. But the extent of each of these rights will vary with each individual and

"proportional justice requires that individuals endowed with different powers should possess rights that vary in degree."²

Yet *practically every individual possesses faculties, to which correspond rights to such a minimum of respective material goods as is requisite to the reasonable development of personality*. These constitute that "sufficiency of bodily goods whose use is necessary to virtuous action."³ And, as has been indicated above,

¹ John A. Ryan, "A Living Wage," 51 (London, 1910).

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Thomas Aquinas, "De Regimine Principum," i. xv.

each individual is endowed with these rights *because he is a person*.

"The dignity of personality imposes upon the individual the duty of self-perfection; he cannot fulfil this duty adequately unless he is endowed with natural rights."¹

Utilitarian considerations have little bearing on the question. It is quite true that it may be to the advantage of both the individual and of the State that the worker should receive a living wage. In most cases that will be so. But no one is bound *morally* to seek either his own or his neighbour's temporal advancement, however wise it may be for him to do so. Moreover, in certain cases, it might be actually either to the individual's or to the State's advantage to ignore the claim to "life and liberty" of certain individuals. If the rights of the individual depend upon "social utility," then obviously those who are less useful to society have no rights that are valid against those who are more useful: the workman would have no claim to any wage at all, unless it could be proved to be to the advantage of the State to pay him one. In fact, there is no valid basis to "the right to a living wage," or, indeed, to any right at all, save that which is essentially the Catholic teaching,

*"that every individual by virtue of his eternal destination is at the core somewhat holy and indestructible; that the smallest part has a value of its own, and not merely because it is part of a whole; that every man is to be regarded by the Community, never as a mere instrument, but also as an end."*²

4. *The Right to Subsistence.*

It follows, then, from the foregoing considerations, that every human being has a right to subsistence—that is, to such a minimum of this world's goods as

¹ John A. Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 50.

² Otto Gierke, "Political Theories of the Middle Ages," 82 (Cambridge, 1900).

will enable him to repair the expense of tissue caused by labour, to be modestly and warmly clothed, and to have dry, warm, and wholesome shelter against the inclemency of the weather. And this right is certainly his in strict justice. It is so certainly his that, *in default of other means of obtaining this minimum*, he may claim to preserve his life by means of the superfluity of his fellows—*i.e.*, from anything belonging to them which is not strictly needed by them for their own subsistence.

“The right of access to the material means of living is as important and as valid in one man as in another,”¹

and

“when we offer necessities to the needy, we are not making a present, but giving them their own: not doing a work of mercy, but rather paying a debt of justice.”²

5. *The Right to a Personal Living Wage.*

Every individual, then, has a right to subsistence, and, in the modern State, there is no other way by which the immense majority of mankind can attain this subsistence save through the wages paid by their employer for their labour. And, as a right to anything implies the right to the sole means whereby it may be attained, it follows that every person who works for an employer has a right to be paid such a minimum wage as will enable at least him *personally* to live in a manner worthy of the dignity of a human being. There is this distinction only between the right to subsistence and the right to a personal living wage. The former is a right shared equally by every individual, and is of such an absolute nature that (granted the material *possibility* of meeting it) it would justify, if necessary for the preservation of life, even the taking away of all superfluous private property above what is required by the

¹ John A. Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 70.

St. Gregory the Great, “Pastoral Care,” xxii.

owners thereof for their own subsistence. The right to a personal living wage is of a less pressing nature. In the first place it only holds where, as is now almost universal in Western civilisation, one man is selling his labour-power to others ; and, in the next place, where a personal living wage is denied to the workman in return for his labour, this denial does not justify his forcible assumption of the superfluous goods of others, but only an appeal to the justice of the community to remedy the injustice of the employer. Nevertheless, the workman's claim to a personal living wage is a claim of commutative justice,¹

"valid. . . against the person or the industrial or social institution² to whom society has transferred the function of distribution."³

And this is so, not merely because commutative justice demands a strict equivalence between the thing given and the thing received—*i.e.*, between the energy expended and the means thoroughly and entirely to repair that energy—not merely because the notion of a *just price* requires that both contracting parties shall be benefited proportionally, for it is practically impossible to state the just price of labour in terms of wages, or to determine the relative gains of employer and employed. Both of these are excellent reasons, *so far as they go*, but neither is of much practical use in determining whether the labourer *is* receiving a living wage or not. The right to a personal living wage rests on the principle that "man . . . possesses . . . the right of providing for the sustenance of his body,"⁴ and that, in the modern State, there is no other means whereby the worker can exercise that right and fulfil the corresponding duty. For this reason his wage must be a "subsistence wage" ; that is to say,

¹ *I.e.*, strict justice, obliging to restitution if violated.

² *E.g.*, the manufacturing company, the municipal "Works Department," &c.

³ John A. Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 79, 80.

⁴ Leo XIII., *Rerum Novarum*.

it must be sufficient to provide "whatever is necessary to a sober, well-conducted man for living suitably—food, lodging, dress, fuel, &c." ¹ On this all Christian economists and moralists are agreed. Every employer (whether individual, or joint-stock company, or State institution) is bound, *in strict justice*, in all ordinary cases, to pay a "subsistence wage" to each person fully employed in his service. This applies, of course, mainly to men, for Christian economics assume that married women and children will usually be supported by the head of the family. But where women and children are forced by circumstances to support themselves they have undoubtedly the same right as men to what is *to them* a "subsistence wage"; and, if they are for any reason performing work equal in efficiency to men's work, distributive justice requires that they shall receive the same remuneration as men.

This is the normal right to a *personal* living wage. Is there also

6. *The Right to the Family Living Wage?*

To this question the answer given by Christian economists and moralists is not so clear or unanimous as to that just considered. Or rather, they are not agreed, either upon the grounds or upon the sanction of the claim to a *family* living wage. But as to the claim itself all Christian authorities are agreed: *the wage paid to the workman ought to be such as would enable him to support a normal family in decent and frugal comfort, if he chose to exercise his right to marriage*. That is, they all admit the right to a family wage, but are at variance on the basis of that right, and consequently as to whether the corresponding obligation is one of charity, of legal justice, or of commutative justice. There are, therefore, three schools of thought on this question, each of which is supported by weighty

¹ J. Schrijvers, C.S.S.R., "Handbook of Practical Economics," 226 (London, 1910).

authority and careful reasoning, and any one of which is presumably tenable.

The first school founds itself on an answer given by Cardinal Zigliara, at the request of Pope Leo XIII., to an inquiry by Cardinal Goosens, Archbishop of Mechlin. Cardinal Zigliara¹ held that, if the wage received is equivalent to the labour expended, the demands of justice are satisfied. Now, clearly the labourer's family contribute nothing towards the product which is the result of his personal labour. Therefore *justice* exacts no more than a wage sufficient to repair the expenditure of his own energy. Nevertheless, if he receive but a personal wage, his family will generally be in want. And *charity* requires that the well-to-do shall assist those who are in want, especially those poorer neighbours with whom they have most to do. But an employer has most to do with his own workmen and their families. Therefore, charity demands that the employer shall preserve his labourers' families from distress; and the most obvious way to do this is to pay the labourers a family living wage. And, as Pope Leo XIII, quoted with approval by Pope Pius X, has laid it down, the

"obligation of charity for the rich and for those who have means to help the poor and needy . . . is of such binding force that, at the day of judgment, as Our Lord Himself tells us (Matt. xxv.), a special account of its fulfilment will be required (Enc. *Rerum Novarum*)."²

The second school, whose most prominent exponent is Père Charles Antoine, S.J.,³ holds that the labourer's right to a personal living wage, being founded upon the equivalence of wage and energy expended, is one

¹ It must not be forgotten that this opinion is no more than that of "one weighty theologian," it is not in any sense an official pronouncement. It bears the authority of Cardinal Zigliara's learning and nothing more. Moreover, it refers only to present economic circumstances, not to other possible systems.

² "Pope Pius X. on Social Reform" (Catholic Social Guild Pamphlet, No. 4), 8.

³ Charles Antoine, S.J., "Cours d'Economie Sociale," 606 (Paris, 1899).

of commutative justice ; but his right to a family living wage, being founded on considerations of social welfare, is one of legal justice, and not of charity or of commutative justice. It is agreed that *charity* does not bestow any *right* to alms upon the poor. Nor can it be pretended that God intended the majority of families to be dependent upon charity for their sustenance, or in its default to live in misery. To base the claim to the family living wage upon charity alone is at once to mistake the nature of this virtue and to impugn the providence of God. Nor can the claim be based upon *commutative justice*: for that virtue merely demands strict equivalence between the personal energy expended and a personal living wage, while to support this doctrine by reference to the duty of a father to sustain his family is to ignore the voluntary, optional nature of marriage. On the other hand, it is certain that social welfare requires that fathers of families shall be normally able to fulfil their duty of supporting their wives and children, and that the majority of families shall be so supported and not in a chronic state of destitution relieved by charity. That is to say, the labourer has a claim, based upon the requirements of *legal justice*, to a wage sufficient to support his family as well as himself.

The third opinion, that the claim is based upon considerations of *commutative justice*, is, perhaps, the most widely supported. In the first place, this opinion is based, not upon the equivalence of personal wage to personal energy expended, for it is held that there is no such ascertainable equivalence. An average labourer's work is of greater value than what is needed to support himself alone and is roughly equivalent to the cost of supporting a normal family. Now, it is not practicable that a man's wages should rise and fall according to the varying needs of his family, or that distinction should be made between the wages of the married and of the unmarried. Further, every man has a right to marry, whether he choose to exercise

that right or no, and, if he marry, at once incurs the duty of supporting his family. But, if the valid exercise of his natural right involves the fulfilment of duties, then clearly he possesses the right to the necessary means whereby alone the duties can be fulfilled. And in the case of the modern workman this necessary means is normally wages. Therefore the labourer has a *right* to a family living wage. Now, this right must rest either upon charity, or upon social justice, or upon commutative justice. It has already been shown, by the upholders of the second opinion, that it cannot rest upon charity. Nor can it rest upon legal justice, for legal justice is merely that moral virtue which inclines the members of a society to perform specific virtuous acts *with the motive of benefiting the community*. But unless any person neglects any particular virtue *with the intention of opposing the welfare of the community*, he does not sin against legal justice, but only against the particular virtue neglected. Therefore the failure to pay a family wage could only be a sin against charity (which is already rejected), or against commutative justice, except in the practically impossible case of an intention thus to injure the community.¹ But there are more direct reasons for assigning commutative justice as the sanction of the family living wage. In the first place, common opinion, the usual determinant of value, is and always has been that a man's work is worth a wage that will support him and his family. Next, God, who has given to the average man the right to marry and procreate children, has thereby laid upon him the duty of supporting his family, and that duty necessarily carries with it the strict right to the necessary means of fulfilling it. Therefore whoever pays the labourer a wage insufficient to support him and his family ignores his right to gain,

¹ It must not, however, be forgotten that the State owes *distributive* justice to the labourer ; *i.e.*, it is the duty of the public authorities (and so of those who elect them) "to make such provision that fair wages can be paid and are paid" (see C. S. Devas, "Political Economy," third edition, p. 505).

in the only way possible to him, the means of fulfilling his duties and of exercising rights involved in his dignity and worth as a human being. For all these reasons it is concluded that the labourer's right to a family living wage is one of commutative justice.

7. *Recapitulation.*

We have seen, then, that the traditional Christian view as to wages is that they should at least amount to what is now known as "a living wage"; that this view is supported by the definite teaching of theologians and moralists; that it is definitely enunciated in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* as a "right"; that this right is of the most stringent nature—absolute (within the limits of possibility) as regards *sustenance*; binding, as a matter of commutative justice, as regards a *personal* living wage; and, as regards a *family* living wage, also binding, at least in charity, and probably also as a matter of either legal or commutative justice. As to the sanction of this last right, the family living wage, authorities are at variance, *but it must not be forgotten that they are all agreed as to the imperative nature of the right.*

8. *What does it amount to?*

But, having ascertained the principle, we must at least try to ascertain roughly how it would work out in money value in this country, if this inquiry is to touch actuality. What is meant by "the support of a frugal and steady workman and his family"? In estimating this amount, it is not sufficient to consider merely what a man requires to maintain himself as an efficient instrument of production. *Christian* sociology must have regard also to *what is due to him as a human being possessed of rights and duties.* Now, there are many estimates by economists, sociologists, labour leaders, priests, &c., which, though varying in some important points because of the varying points of view

of their author's, are yet surprisingly in substantial accord.¹ What they all practically amount to for present purposes is this:—

1. The labourer should have command over sufficient food, clothing, shelter, fuel, &c., to enable him to preserve himself and his wife and children in health and reasonable comfort; to make it unnecessary for his wife to leave the care of the home in order to earn wages, or for his children to become wage-earners before they are reasonably grown and educated (*i.e.*, before they attain the age of at least sixteen years); to provide all with warm and decent clothing, in sufficient quantity for cleanliness and neatness; to own (or at least have reasonably secure control over) a home of at least five rooms, plainly but sufficiently furnished, and in a proper state of repair.

2. The labourer must also be normally able, out of his income, to provide against sickness, accidents, old age, and unemployment, by contributions to a friendly society, a medical club, his proper Trade Union, and any contributory State fund established for any of these purposes.

3. Further, he should be able to satisfy his mental and spiritual needs by payments, congruous to his state, in support of the Church and charitable institutions, and by reasonable access to periodical and other literature, to public educational establishments (museums, galleries, &c.), and to a moderate amount of recreation.

Now, if we take an *average* working class family to consist of a man, his wife, and four children² (for a less

¹ Cf. John A. Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 127–31; B. S. Rowntree, "Poverty," Chaps. III., IV. (London, 1902); Charles Booth, "Life and Labour of the People," ix., Chap. XIII. (London, 1897).

² Of course there will be many workmen's families larger than this; indeed, very possibly the *average* working-class family contains more than four children. If that be so the minimum due must be correspondingly raised. Four children represent the smallest average possible, if the nation is to remain healthy and progressive. As to the whole question of large and small families, see Cardinal Mercier's Pastoral, published by the Catholic Truth Society as No. 12 of the Catholic Social Guild Pamphlets, price 1d.

number of children per family would mean that the population was decreasing), and if we accept, in relation to current prices, the estimates of recent investigators¹ as to the *minimum* cost per head per week for food, clothing, rent, &c., in the countryside, in moderate and in large towns respectively,² it should be possible to arrive at a rough estimate of the money value that would represent the above necessities of decent life. For sheer *subsistence* this will work out at a family cost of £1 3s. 6d. per week in the country, of £1 6s. in medium-sized towns, and of £1 9s. in the large towns, as prices are at present. If we add a small sum, rising from about 2s. 6d. in the country to about 6s. in the large towns, to represent those further expenses which have been enumerated under headings 2 and 3 above, as the reasonable necessities of a frugal and decent life, we arrive at the result that *a family living wage in this country amounts to about 26s. a week in the country, 30s. a week in medium-sized towns, and 35s. a week in the large towns.*³ And this, it must not be forgotten, is the wage due to agricultural labourers and unskilled workmen; as the skill of the workman, and therefore his social position and reasonable standard of life, rises, so will the family living wage due to him.

It will, of course, be objected that thousands of families can and do subsist, in apparent comfort, on

¹ B. S. Rowntree, *loc. cit.*; P. H. Mann, "Life in an Agricultural Village in England," in the *Transactions of the Sociological Society* for 1904; M. F. Davies, "Life in an English Village" (London, 1909).

² *I.e.*, food, per head, per week (over sixteen), 3s.; (under sixteen) 2s. 3d.; clothing, per head, per week (over sixteen), 6d.; (under sixteen) 5d.; fuel, about 1s. 10d. per week; rent, per week, in the country, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; in medium-sized towns, 5s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.; in large towns, 6s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. It will be noted that the rent here suggested for country cottages of five rooms is that at which it would pay the average landlord to build. Any reduction of rent below this point is merely a form of "truck" wages.

³ In the United States, where, of course, the cost and standard of living among the working-classes is much higher than in England, Father Ryan works out the family living wage at about \$600 a year (*i.e.*, about £2 9s. a week) in the smaller towns, and \$938 a year (*i.e.*, about £3 19s. a week) in the large towns.

much less than the wage suggested above.¹ They do, but at what ultimate cost to the nation in infant mortality, in impaired efficiency, in diminished power of resistance to disease, in desperate resort to bodily pleasures, in crime, and finally in pauperism, is but *partly* shown by the national expenditure on the Poor Law, the prisons, the reformatories, the hospitals and the asylums, and by the statistics of child mortality, of illegitimacy and of drunkenness. The payment of less than a living wage is, even from a merely commercial point of view, too costly in the long run to the nation that permits it.

9. *The Obligations Corresponding to the Right.*

The obligation of paying a family living wage to all labourers rests *primarily*, not on the State or on any of its subdivisions, but on "the industrial community in which the labourer lives"—that is to say, on those members thereof that control its operations. For instance, in the mining industry, the labourer's claim is against those who control the mines in which he works; in the cotton industry, against the cotton manufacturers who employ him; in the agricultural districts, especially against the farmer or landlord in whose service and to whose advantage he works. Only in a secondary and indirect sense has he a claim against the State, as the authority which should protect his rights, if violated. The duty, then, of paying a family living wage to their employees rests primarily with the employers in any industry, for "the economic position of the employer is such that the obligation falls naturally and reasonably upon his shoulders."²

¹ The average weekly money wage of agricultural labourers to-day (1911) is about 15s. (and his perquisites, garden, &c., certainly do not amount to anything like another 11s. a week); while Mr. Rowntree and Sir Charles Booth have shown that in York (a typical medium-sized town) about 28 per cent. and in London about 30 per cent. were habitually in receipt of wages well below the "subsistence wage" given in the text!

² John A. Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 239.

Now, there are at least two kinds of employers: the individual who manages his own business and employs (at least mainly) his own capital; and the responsible manager of a joint-stock company, appointed by and subject to the directors, and, ultimately, to the shareholders. The former kind has two claims upon the product of the business—a *primary* claim to “wages of management,” *sufficient for a frugal and reasonable livelihood suitable to his position in the community*; and a quite *secondary* claim to interest upon his capital, *at such rate as the proper conduct of the business will fairly allow*. The former claim naturally precedes all others, even that of his employees to their living wage, but it must be interpreted as a *suitable living wage for himself*, not as a claim to riches or luxury.¹ The latter claim is of comparatively minor importance, resting, as it does, merely upon the same basis as any other right of ownership. It is, certainly, a valid claim, justified by considerations of social welfare; but it is inferior to that of the labourer to gain a decent livelihood by means of his toil, a claim based upon human worth and dignity, which is a greater thing than social convenience. Therefore, next to the employer’s own claim to his own living wage, comes that of his employees to their living wage, and their claim must be satisfied (if the gross product will allow of it) before any other claim upon the product be satisfied. Given the *possibility* of doing so, the duty

¹ It is difficult to give any *precise* meaning to these terms. “A suitable living wage for himself” will naturally vary with the employer’s position in life. Thus a peer, a Cabinet Minister, a great landowner, will fairly have a higher standard of life than (say) the manager of a newspaper, a farmer, or the manager of a mine. It is certainly fitting that those who hold a great position in the State should be able to expend *comparatively* large sums on hospitality and even occasional display. But nobody needs many houses, or constantly-changing costly clothes, or trips to Monte Carlo, or gorgeous cotillon presents, or any of the ever-increasing modern excuses for wasting money on mere show and triviality. “The amount of money that can be expended for the convenience of life, the ornamental and hedonistic side of life, consistently with due regard for health, mind, and character, is very much smaller than the majority of men, rich and poor, habitually assume” (Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 273).

of paying a living wage to all employees is binding upon all employers; involving restitution, if neglected, in the case of the personal living wage, and, very possibly also, in the case of the family living wage.¹

As to the manager-employer, he is not to the same extent a free agent, and is usually himself only a salaried servant. Yet he should do his utmost to persuade the directors of the company, *upon whom the obligation really rests*, to permit the payment of a living wage to all employees, and should even refrain from insisting on any increase to his average salary that will make it *higher than a suitable living wage for himself in his own position*, until such proper wages can be paid to the employees.

So, too, with the shareholders. In so far as they really have any power to enforce the payment of living wages by the company from which they draw dividends, they must exert that power to the uttermost, even if it means much trouble and loss of superfluities to themselves. *Much of the underpaying of labour is due to the demand for high dividends on the part of shareholders in joint-stock companies*—that is to say, for a higher return for the loan of capital by those who merely *own* than is consistent with justice to those who *produce*. Again, those who consume the product should not seek to do so at the expense of those who produce it. The rage for mere cheapness of commodities is not without its influence both upon the quality of the goods and upon the possible remuneration to the producer. There is a “just price” due for every commodity, even though it may be difficult to ascertain, and the main item in that price is the cost of production *as far as determined by the provision of a decent livelihood to the producer*. And in general, every person

¹ Rural landowners managing their own estates are in an analogous position to employer-capitalists. But landowners, in town or country, who merely draw rents and hand over the management to paid agents, have no claim to “wages of management” and their claim to payment for the loan of land is (like that for the loan of capital) *only rightly to be satisfied after a living wage has been paid to the real producers*.

who is living wholly or partly upon wealth produced by the labour of others, whether he be landowner, factory-owner, or shareholder, or Government or municipal bond-holder, is bound to make use of every means at his command to ensure that those who produce his income shall receive in return a decent family living wage. And, in so far as he is powerless to effect this through his tenants, or the directors of the companies that pay him dividends, or his representatives in public bodies, or Parliament, he is bound to make, out of his superfluity, such wise and charitable restitution as he can to the victims of industrial and social injustice.

10. *Some Objections.*

There are three main objections to the universal payment of a living wage. The first is that *in consequence prices will so rise that the workers will gain no real advantage*. But this is contradicted by experience. For the producer and the capitalists who finance him can only throw *part* of the increased cost of production upon the consumer, competition takes care of that. The rest comes, as it should, partly out of interest, rent, and profits, partly from the increased efficiency that is enforced on both capital and labour by the new conditions.¹

The second main objection is that *the national income will not permit the payment of a universal living wage*. Now, this would be valid if it were true. But it cannot be held to be true so long as nearly one-half of the total national income is paid (in the form of rent, interest, and profits) to less than one-eighth of the population; while, of that one-half, two-thirds is received by a small rich group amounting to less than one-thirtieth of the whole nation. *The payment of a living wage is a question rather of the distribution than of the sufficiency of the total product.*²

¹ John A. Ryan, *loc. cit.*, 303-8.

² L. G. C. Money, "Riches and Poverty" (London, 1908). Cf. also the new edition (1911), in which entirely reliable statistics give further emphasis to the above contention.

As for the third objection usually urged, that *the necessity of paying a living wage would ruin certain industries and drive trade into the hands of foreign competitors*, it is an argument invariably brought forward by the opponents of any proposal for the improvement of the lot of the workers, and almost invariably falsified by the result. From the point of view of the economist and the sociologist it has been refuted again and again.

"Competition must be met by increased efficiency, not by low wages. . . . Experience teaches that healthy and well-educated and highly-trained men and women living and working under satisfactory conditions provide the industrial army with which thoroughly capable, alert, and enterprising employers can most successfully meet any competition which they may have to encounter."¹

And the few trades that really would so suffer are in their nature *parasitic* trades, existing at the expense of the national health and efficiency.² From the point of view of Christian statesmanship, considerations of human worth and dignity outweigh any considerations of the industrial advantage of certain sections of the nation over possible foreign competitors. "Justice demands that the interests of the poorer classes should be carefully watched over by public authority, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits which they create—that being housed, clothed, and enabled to sustain life, they may find their existence less hard and more endurable."³ If we remember that, we shall know what *must* be done, cost what it may, and work to make the living wage an actuality in this country as soon as may be.

¹ Report of the Select Committee on Home Work, H.C. 246, 1908, p. xvii.

² National Anti-Sweating League: "Report of Conference on a Minimum Wage, 1906," pp. 25-9 (London, 1907).

³ Leo XIII., *Rerum Novarum*.

CHAPTER III

THE TRADE BOARDS ACT

THE Trade Boards Act of 1909 strikes a new note in the labour legislation of England. The Christian principles, which in Catholic days governed the spiritual, necessarily influenced the secular side of human existence. Under both the Religious and the Trade Guilds trade interest was never permitted to imperil that sense of brotherhood between the master and his journeyman and apprentice, which Christian teaching has upheld from the beginning. Such barriers between rich and poor, as now confront us, were then unknown. The change in the relations between class and class came with the Reformation. Since the destruction of the Religious Guilds under Elizabeth, but especially since the Industrial Revolution, which began in the textile industries with the inventions of John and Robert Kay about 1750, and which obliterated all trace of what remained of the Trade Guilds, the British Parliament has been struggling to restore order in the ranks of English society. The woes of the workers, and still more civilisation itself, demanded that the State should intervene and become the exponent of the fundamental principles of justice maintained through so many centuries by the Church. With the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act (1802) our modern labour laws may be said to have commenced. Their development has steadily progressed through continuous enactments, dealing with the regulation of the hours of labour, sanitary conditions, the abolition of "truck" payment,

&c. But in all these laws the rights of labour have been regarded from a general collective aspect. The distinguishing characteristic of the Trade Boards Act is that it stipulates for the defence of the individual worker. Though the Trade Boards Act is a legislative experiment, it marks a noteworthy growth in our laws for the betterment of the conditions of labour. From another point of view too does the Act indicate considerable advance. By securing a minimum living wage, it aspires to raise from that moral degradation no less than to stay the physical deterioration into which many oppressed victims of our labour system have fallen, and thus it bids fair to remedy evils with which the Factory Acts have been unable to cope. We subjoin a description of the principal provisions of the Trade Boards Act.

The Act applies to the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring trade, and to the box-making, lace-finishing, and chain-making trades. Yet it is determined that the usefulness of the Act shall not be restricted merely to the four scheduled trades. Other industries may be subjected to a like reform by a Provisional Order of the Board of Trade. The sweating evil is too widely spread and too deeply rooted to permit of any sudden or sweeping change. The Act is to make its way with caution, to tackle the social disorder piecemeal, and to bring its remedial influence to bear with great wariness.

In the first section it is declared on what conditions the Act may place a trade upon its schedule. As the point is important in so much as it discloses the status of the industry to which the Act may apply, and provides an example of the wise discretion which characterises the Act throughout, we will state the clause in its clear and simple wording.

“The Board of Trade may make a Provisional Order applying this Act to any specified trade to which it does not at the time apply if they are satisfied that the rate of wages prevailing in

any branch of the trade is exceptionally low, as compared with that in other employments, and that the other circumstances of the trade are such as to render the application of this Act to the trade expedient."

In the face of such a clause none will be able to think that the Trade Boards Act is a partisan measure, dictated by any other motives than those of fairness and plain duty.

In like manner, should the operation of the Act become unnecessary in any trade to which it has been applied, the Board of Trade may by a Provisional Order suspend the operation of the Act in that trade.

In the remaining clauses of the first section the Act stipulates the conditions under which Provisional Orders of the Board of Trade may become law. It is not necessary to give them in detail. It is sufficient to state that they bear witness to the care with which the Act deals with every point of difficulty and endeavours to ensure the best interests of employers and employees alike. However, in these days when confidence in departmental administration has been somewhat shaken, by an increasing tendency to assume plenary powers through so-called administrative regulations and orders, it is reassuring to find that no Provisional Order under the Trade Boards Act can be effective without first having been granted the assent of Parliament.¹

Thus these clauses providing for the present and future application of the Act to various trades, while they allow the Board of Trade a wide latitude, guarantee a check upon all hasty and ill-considered action.

The next few clauses deal with the actual establishment of Trade Boards. It is provided that the Board of Trade shall, if practicable, set up one Board in each

¹ This assent, however, is obtained by laying the orders on the table of the House for a definite period : if no one objects to them in the interval and no one carries his objection, they come into force. It is plain that abuse can enter here, as it has done under the Board of Education.

trade, but may set up more than one according to the nature and extent of the industry in question. The number of Boards will be regulated according to the greater or less practical advantage to be gained. The regulations and determinations of any such Board will apply only to that branch of a trade for which it has been constituted; *e.g.*, should a Trade Board be set up for tailor-finishing, its rate of pay would not apply to tailor-machining or any other branch of ready-made tailoring.

We now come to that part of the Act dealing with the all-important question of fixing the minimum rates of wages. Here the wording of the Act is very explicit :—

“Trade Boards shall, subject to the provisions of this section, fix minimum rates of wages for timework for their trades, and may also fix general minimum rates of wages for piecework for their trades, and those rates of wages may be fixed so as to apply universally to the trade, or so as to apply to any special process in the work of the trade, or to any special class of workers in the trade, or to any special area.”

This clause in no way interferes with the employers' freedom of paying time rates or piece rates as best suits his interests, but if piece rates are paid the Act provides that at least the minimum piece rates must be given if such have been fixed. If no piece rates have been determined, payment must be made at such rates as will secure the *ordinary* worker the equivalent of what he could make by time rates.

Again, the remaining provisions of this section are framed chiefly with a view to prevent immature administration. The Trade Board must give due warning—three months—of any rate which it proposes to fix. In the interval it must consider any objections which may be lodged against the rate. Similarly notice must be given before any existing rate may be cancelled or varied. Further, in cases where a worker is incapable of doing average work,

whether from infirmity or from some physical injury, the Trade Board may grant him a permit to work for less than the minimum time rate if it is of opinion that the case cannot be suitably met by employing the worker on piecework. All such cases will be considered individually on their merits. With regard to minimum rates in general, the Boards are empowered to make an Order of Suspension by which their obligatory operation will be suspended when it is found that such rates would be unsuitable or premature.

A very important section of the Act is that dealing with the penalties to be inflicted for not paying wages in accordance with the minimum fixed rate. For the first offence a fine not exceeding £20 is imposed, while the Court may order the employer to make good any amount which the worker has been underpaid. A further penalty not exceeding £5 may be exacted for every day on which the offence is continued after the conviction. The onus of proving that he has not paid less than the minimum rate lies with the employer. In this regard it is important to notice that the employer may not reduce wages below the fixed minimum by fines for damaged work and the infringement of regulations or by deductions made for working materials, &c. Thus is removed a great abuse, concerning which much has been said in a former chapter.

We have seen that the Act provides against evasion of the minimum time rates by the employer. As a further means of security the Act shields the worker against the employers' intermediary—the middleman or the middle-woman. If any

“shopkeeper, dealer, or trader shall by way of trade make an agreement express or implied with any worker in pursuance of which the worker performs any work for which a minimum rate of wages has been fixed under this Act,”

he thereby himself becomes an employer, undertakes an employer's responsibilities, and renders himself liable, in

the event of a conviction under the provisions of the law, to all the penalties of an unjust employer. The worker is to be no longer the victim of a vicious truck system. No longer has he to bear the burden of the middleman's commission. The net remuneration of the average worker may in no case descend below the wage appointed by the Trade Board.

The constitution of the Trade Boards is regulated by the Board of Trade. The Boards are composed of equal numbers of members representing employers and workers respectively, together with independent members appointed by the Board of Trade. The representative members may be elected or nominated according to circumstances. Women are eligible as members. Particular care is to be taken that home-workers shall be adequately represented on Boards dealing with trades in which any considerable number of home-workers are employed.

To render the working of the Trade Boards thoroughly efficient, the Act stipulates that District Trade Committees may be established by a Trade Board. The formation of a District Trade Committee is based on lines similar to those on which the Trade Board is constituted. The District Trade Committee shall include at least one representative from the Trade Board. While the recommendation of minimum time rates and general piece rates for their own area is the essential duty of a District Trade Committee, the Trade Board may, short of a permission to fix a minimum time rate or a general piece rate, delegate to it any power within its own right.

The appointment of officers to investigate cases of complaint and secure the observance of the Act is in the hands of the Board of Trade. This power can be delegated to the Trade Boards where necessary. Any officer so appointed can demand the production of wages sheets and records of payments, of lists of home-workers, their addresses, and the payments made to them. They may visit factories, workshops, and

places used for giving out work to home-workers. Should the employer or any person refuse to produce such lists and wages sheets, or hinder the officers in the discharge of their duty, he is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £5. Should false information be given, or spurious wages sheets be shown up, a penalty of not more than £20 or of imprisonment for not longer than three months, with or without hard labour, may be inflicted.

The supplementary clauses provide that due notice must be given of any matters coming within the sphere of the Act to all persons concerned, that employers and occupiers of factories or workshops must post up notices when required, and give notice of regulations to the workers in any other way that may be determined upon.

We will close this chapter with a brief description of the working of Wages Boards in our colonies. Various systems have been adopted in our Australasian colonies for fixing and regulating wages under the sanction of the State. In New Zealand and New South Wales this is done by Arbitration Acts, in Victoria by special Boards formed of equal numbers of employers and employees. The latter system has been found the more efficient, and the Trade Boards in this country approach to it more nearly. Hence we may look to the Victorian Boards to give some indication of the probable effect of the Trade Boards Act.

The Victorian Boards fix a minimum which may not be higher than the average rates in the trade. When they consider the average rates too low, they may report to the Government, which then brings the matter before a final Court of Appeal constituted for this purpose. The rates fixed by the Boards are enforced by penalties. Appeal may be made by any one representing not less than 25 per cent. of the whole body of workers in a trade, or by employers employing 25 per cent. and upwards of the workers engaged in the trade. The awards of the Court are final.

The results attained by the working of these Boards are very wonderful. Some hold that under the Wages Boards sweating has been abolished. No doubt there is a strong element of exaggeration in this assertion, but it cannot be denied that the Boards have been instrumental in improving wages in a large number of trades. Nor with the rise in wages has there been discovered any marked difference either in the cost of production or in the market price of the products. The general practical issue of the Wages Boards has been a universal recognition of the economic dogma, so humane when applied to wages, which declares that some modes of cheapness are spendthrift expenditure. Hence, in addition to an appreciable increase in wages, the Wages Boards have tended to cultivate a disposition among employers to act more justly towards their employees.

The benefits to the workers are very great. First the "steady" of wages has had an excellent effect. The workers' interest has been aroused, and they are moved out of that apathy which prevented them from making any attempt to better themselves. In addition to the more immediate effects of physical well-being produced by the increase of their earnings and consequent improvements in the conditions of life, their moral and intellectual status is steadily improving. Initiative is fostered, hopes and aspirations are aroused. The workers' whole outlook upon life is changing as they gradually awake from the slough of despondency and indifference induced by the depressing and demoralising influence of evil conditions and hopeless drudgery. The power of the sweater is broken, and the worker has cast off that fatalistic acquiescence in a state of servitude and degradation which blighted his whole existence.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRADE BOARDS ACT IN ACCORD WITH CATHOLIC PRINCIPLE

THE Catholic Church recognises her duties as the natural protector of the weak and the oppressed. In season and out of season she has never ceased to urge the duties of justice and Christian brotherhood. With the same steady insistence she has carried out this duty throughout the centuries. In our own day she has spoken loudly and clearly on behalf of the worker.¹

We must remember that the Church brings a knowledge and experience to the consideration of this question which far surpass any to be found elsewhere. She has made valuable propositions which have been acted upon by legislators ; Germany, France, Austria, and Switzerland owe much to the plans of social reform laid down by Catholic sociologists, and their legislation has embodied many of these suggestions.

British Parliamentarians, whether wittingly or not, have in the Trade Boards Act provided another example how ethical principles upheld by the Church result unflinching in bringing social order out of social disorder. The Act is levelled against a system which indirectly affects Catholic interests. The actual harm which the Church suffers as a result of the iniquitous methods pursued in the sweated industries it is not easy to calculate. Unquestionably they foster and

¹ C.S.G. pamphlet, No. 3 (C.T.S., 1d.), Introduction, p. 3.

spread slum life wherever they are practised to a large extent. How far the slums are responsible for the woeful leakage in the Church those alone can tell who have an intimate and personal knowledge of the life of the sweated workers in the crowded tenements of our large towns.

A closer consideration of the conditions and nature of these sweated industries will show to what extent the provisions of the Act are in accordance with the Catholic principles of social justice and brotherhood. This analysis brings out the fact that while a very large number of industries and trades give rise to sweating in a greater or less degree, there is one section comprehending what is known as the parasitic trades where this evil is peculiarly prevalent.

As its name indicates, a parasitic trade is one which does not support itself entirely. It is in some way subsidised from without. This is effected in a number of ways, but in every case it is accompanied with public waste and even more with loss and injustice to the individual.

The methods of subsidising parasitic trades which chiefly concern us here are two—the supplementing of the incomes of the workers from some source outside the trade in which they are employed, and the using up of the vital energy of the workers by forcing them to live and work upon a wage which is insufficient to afford them the means of living in normal health. Of these two the latter is by far the more injurious, whether viewed from the physical or the moral standpoint.

The supplementing of the workers' income may come about in various ways. Where it is a question of a family whose members work at various trades and all contribute their earnings to the common stock, we find some members assisting to support others who are employed in less remunerative work. Here the parasitic trade is being helped by better-paid industries, which are thus made to contribute to the nourishment and

general support of parasitic workers. Of course, the underpaying of women is found in the parasitic trades in its most acute form. Not only are women so ill-paid that they cannot even keep themselves adequately, but all too frequently they are unable to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life, and so become dependent upon the earnings of relatives, the Poor Law, or voluntary charity organisations. To illustrate the extent to which this form of subsidising exists we may quote an example from Mr. Arthur Shadwell's "Life in West London."¹ He says that 144 persons applied to the Soho Committee of the Charity Organisation Society in the six months between October and March, 1895-6. Upon inquiry being made these were found to represent upwards of seventy different professions and trades. In all these cases the parasitic trade is enabled to exist by outside assistance, which, if coming from the Poor Law, is a tax upon the community, and if from workers in other trades, is a restraint upon the advancement of those trades inasmuch as it is using up a part of the wages which should be applied to maintain and increase the energy of their own workers.

The second form of parasitism is, however, by far the more noxious. It is the case of trades in which workers do not draw any portion of their incomes from outside sources, but continue in a state of abject poverty and misery as long as their energy and stamina last and then sink beneath the burden for their places to be taken by others. This is nothing less than subsidising the trade at the expense of the health and lives of the workers. Under this system the health, physique, intelligence, and moral character of the workers deteriorate. The vital energy of the whole community is being slowly but surely drained away. When, to use the words of the Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System, 1890, workers have for a considerable time been reduced to

¹ P. 76.

"earnings barely sufficient to sustain existence ; hours of labour such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and unlovely to the last degree ; sanitary conditions injurious to the health of the persons employed and dangerous to the public,"

they become unfit for remunerative labour. Such people cannot turn out good work. At the best their efforts are fitful and their output faulty. Moreover, when one member of a family so deteriorates, he infects the others. One family spreads the social disease to its neighbours, and so the evil spreads until whole classes are contaminated. Such is a brief outline of the parasitic trades, which considerations of space prevent us from detailing more fully.

With Collectivists the argument against sweating too often turns upon a question of national loss. The economic unit is the State ; the importance of the individual falls into a lower plane. They advocate the common rule—*i.e.*, the enforcement of a minimum below which no employer of labour may descend—on the grounds that it will induce him to select only the more efficient workers, that the standard of excellence will be raised in productive manufacture, and consequently that the community as a whole will profit. Every individual, however, has a right to a decent livelihood ; he has a right to the possession and use of capital ; he has a right to private property ; he has a right, moreover, to dispose of these things as may seem good to him within the limits placed by justice and charity. Leo XIII. points out that the family and not the State is the economic unit. He declares the family to be

"a society limited indeed in numbers, but no less a true society, anterior to any kind of State or nation, invested with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the civil community."¹

These rights and duties must be respected and safeguarded in any scheme of social reform, and in correct-

¹ *Vide* C.S.G. pamphlet, No. 3, p. 8.

ing the evil of sweating they must always be kept well in view.

“The contention, then, that the civil government should at its option intrude into and exercise intimate control over the family and the household is a great and pernicious error. True, if a family finds itself in exceeding distress, utterly deprived of the counsel of friends, and without any prospect of extricating itself, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid, since each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the precincts of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, public authority should intervene to force each party to yield to the other its proper due; for this is not to deprive the citizens of their rights, but justly and properly to safeguard them. But the rulers of the State must go no farther; here Nature bids them stop.”¹

Herein lies the vital difference between the Catholic and the Socialist point of view. The Catholic bases his conception of the State on the existence of God and the purpose of man's being, which purpose he is to attain in his individual capacity by the exercise of his free will.

As man is responsible for his own salvation, he must be left free to work it out himself. Let it be granted that he is a social being and must of necessity live in communion with his fellow-man. But his duties to the community at large concern the temporal order alone, and must be subjected to the higher obligations of his eternal destiny. Even his family life, to which he has an inalienable right, is only a means to the end for which he is made. And the State is a further means necessitated by his nature and destined to aid in his fuller development, and to give a proper scope to his moral and intellectual faculties.

The Socialist, on the other hand, bases his idea of the State, not on God but on material things. He may protest that his tenets have nothing to do with religion and should be kept apart. The fact remains that he

¹ *Vide* C.S.G. pamphlet, No. 3, p. 10.

is attempting to reconstruct society without reference to God, and such an attempt cannot fail to bring him into conflict with the higher purpose for which, as the Catholic Church holds, society has been created. So far from being the means to an end, the State is regarded as the end itself, and the most that the Socialist will admit is that families, Churches, &c., may be of service to the State, but always in a subordinate capacity.

Hence the primary concern of the State is with itself, not with the individual.

In the socialistic creed the individual is a mere cell in the organism whose only value is to contribute to the welfare of the whole. Sweating is an injury to the community at large, therefore it must be put an end to. Not a word of the injustice done to the individual by cramping his development, deteriorating his moral fibre, and violating his right to a decent livelihood. Not a word of the loss of his personal dignity. Not a thought of the true end for which he has been created. Such is the standpoint from which the Socialist views the social evils of the present time.

The Catholic Church, which, as we have already shown, is possessed of knowledge drawn from all ages and under all conditions, is treated as a negligible quantity. Socialism is the one cure for all.

Yet, as we have seen, the individual is prior to the State. Man was made first, then man to satisfy the needs of his nature united into the family. Subsequent to and dependent upon the growth of family life arose man's need to seek unity with his fellows. He was led to form a wider society in order to secure, not only protection but assistance also where his own capabilities were insufficient. This wider society is the State. Its functions are twofold—to protect and to assist—but it must never be allowed to absorb man and deprive him of his birthright.

The State is a means to protect man's rights and

individual freedom of action when these rights are threatened or impeded. The State is exercising this function when it legislates to protect the worker from the oppression of the employer. When the State introduces such a measure as the Trade Boards Act it is fulfilling this function. For this reason Catholics welcome such a measure inasmuch as it indicates a tendency to return to Catholic principles.

It will be well here to review the situation, and see what position the Church holds in regard to other existing theories. The Church, then, conceives man as an individual, and is primarily concerned with his spiritual development and the higher good of his soul. But it would be a grave mistake to suppose that she takes no interest in anything else—that is, in those things which are not immediately concerned with his spiritual welfare. The Abbé Léon Garriguet in his “Social Value of the Gospel” expresses this admirably. He says :—

“Having come to perfect man, He [Christ] took the *whole* man and placed him in the setting assigned to him by Providence. Consequently, He took him with his body, his social destiny, his numerous wants, his duties of every kind, and in his necessary relations. The kingdom of heaven did not cause Him to lose sight completely of the kingdom of earth, as some have unjustly reproached Him for doing. He had a care for this kingdom here below, for He knew, better than any one, that it is the road by which we must travel to reach the kingdom above.”¹

Man is a social animal, and, as has been pointed out, is driven by the exigencies of his nature to live in community with his fellows. The Catholic theory therefore avoids two extremes. First, it avoids the extreme of the Individualist. According to this theory, put forward by the old school of liberal economists, the individual was absolutely free to do what he liked with his own. The capitalist was at liberty to use his capital as he would. His workers might make the best bargain they

¹ P. 29.

could with him, but there was no power to compel him to give them adequate remuneration for their labour. All limitations to the use of property were removed, for it was not acknowledged that the rich man only holds his riches in trust, that his use of them cannot be arbitrary, that ownership implies certain duties and obligations imposed by the law of God, which cannot be evaded. This school regarded man as severely isolated, and free to pursue his own course unchecked. Consequently it held that the State could never interfere in the question of wage-giving. Its functions were purely negative, confined, as far as the individual was concerned, to securing the fulfilment of contracts and preventing any interference with liberty of action.

A classical example of the practical working of this theory is afforded by the conditions of life and labour among the working classes in England during the first half of the nineteenth century. The actual following out of the theory that all industrial relations were of the nature of buying and selling in the open market resulted in one of the darkest pages of our national history. Workers were scandalously underpaid, and were forced to accept the starvation wages offered to them since the supply of labour greatly exceeded the demand. They were mercilessly overworked. They were, moreover, subjected to fraudulent confiscation of wages under the pretext of fines imposed for numerous real or imaginary offences. Further, under what was known as the Truck system, they were obliged to accept part payment in orders on tradesmen. These tradesmen, who were in collusion with the masters, supplied inferior goods worth considerably less than the nominal money values of the orders. There was no security for permanent employment. In a time of depression hundreds were dismissed and left without occupation or means of support for a shorter or longer period. Another great evil of this system was the abominable cruelty with which children were treated. This, and the worst of all, immorality, which was rampant in mines and factories

alike, being characteristic rather than exceptional, produced a great reaction.

The backward swing of the pendulum resulted in the opposite extreme, which is equally opposed to Catholic principles—the doctrine of the omnipotence of the State. This has been described sufficiently in an earlier portion of this chapter dealing with the parasitic theory. It is sufficient to point out that the Church avoids the mistake of those who, like some prominent Socialists, overlook the individual altogether and merge him in the State. One fatal result of this extreme is that it cannot ensure those qualities of self-sacrifice, generosity, and conscientious performance of duty which all admit to be necessary. It is even more vitally false in that it entirely neglects the absolute necessity of building up the State on Christian principles. Self-sacrifice is demanded of the individual because he has duties to his neighbour. You will never get a man to pay a living wage by arguing that to pay less is to injure the State and starve the nation. Nor is it sufficient to point out that sweating results in physical and moral decadence. Man must be taught to regard his fellow-men in the light of Christian principles.

The view of the Catholic Church on this point is sound and sensible. It is based on the necessity of individual justice. In the practical working out of this view the State takes her proper place. Her natural function is to enforce the observance of that justice. The employer should be taught that to reduce wages below a minimum living level is unjust, that the laws of retributive justice bind him to a personal redress of a personal wrong. Argue with him as you might argue with a neglectful parent who starves and ill-treats his children. When the Christian principles of duty and justice are not sufficient, such a one is coerced by the State. Even so must the State interfere where necessary to force the employer to do what is right in cases where the religious motive is of no avail.



It is precisely on this ground that Catholics give a cordial welcome to the Trade Boards Act. It is a direct application of Christian principles to the regulating of the labour question. Religion alone has not sufficed to solve the problem, nor can legislation do so unaided.

"Most certainly it will not be permanently and adequately solved *without* religion—that is, without the aid of religious agencies and a larger infusion of the religious spirit into the minds and hearts of men ; but neither will religion suffice in the absence of a detailed application of moral principles to the relations of employer and employee."¹

The full result of action upon these lines will not be felt at once. A gradual improvement, increasing and widening as the true principles of Christian ethics come to be applied, will ensue. Already in the colonies a vast improvement is noted as the result of a fixed minimum wage in certain sweated industries. This has been shown in a former chapter.² The effect of the Trade Boards Act in this country is already being felt. Much depends upon the method of its application, but the principles upon which it is based are sound. Thus the fixed minimum rates (whether time rates or piece rates) will have the effect of steadying wages. They will put a stop to excessive under-cutting. It will be impossible for two firms in the same district to vary so greatly in their scale of wages as in the past. Miss MacArthur, in her evidence before the Home Work Committee, pointed out that in the same street in Whitechapel firms could be found whose employees do practically the same work, but in the one are paid double the rate of wages given in the other. It will also be no longer possible for a firm suddenly to reduce wages by 30 or 50 per cent. On the contrary, the effect will be to raise gradually the rate of pay by

¹ Ryan, "A Living Wage," p. 329.

² Chap. III., pp. 43-44.

levelling up the wages given by the worst employers. This is done with as little loss and inconvenience as possible, thanks to the provision of Local Boards for different areas and separate rates for different branches of work. Thus the injustice consequent upon the imposition of a general fixed rate without trial and consideration of the circumstances is avoided, and the change is brought about gradually.

Again, by showing regard for the individual the action of the State will raise the lower classes of workers, not only in the industrial but also in the social scale. They will learn to claim the protection which the State affords, and to organise themselves for the better protection of their rights. Self-respect will be regained. This is an important factor, not only in the development of the individual but also in the making of good citizens. This purpose is still further advanced by the regulation providing that the workers shall be adequately represented on the various Boards. They will learn to take an intelligent interest in the improvement of their trade, and acquire a wider outlook upon life. The duty of assisting their neighbour and considering his well-being will be quickly learnt. It is here that the need of inculcating Christian principles becomes so necessary, for, as we have said, State action apart from Christian principles can never secure a lasting reform.

The operation of the Trade Boards will teach the workers in the sweated industries to think. It will arouse them from the dull lethargy induced by a life of hopeless, grinding toil, and by showing the way, induce them to seek to better their own condition. They will be induced to strive after higher ideals. Then, when they find that there is something to live for, their work will improve and consequently the trades in which they are occupied will become more prosperous. This in its turn will bring an increase of wages, leading to a bettering of all the conditions of life.

A great feature of the Act, and one that will go far

to bring home to the unprincipled employer the fact that he can no longer grind down his workers and rob them of the just reward of their labour, is the clause which provides penalties for its infringement and obliges restitution. This goes to the very root of the evil. The Christian principle of restitution is here exemplified, and the individual rights of the workers are vindicated. Nothing will affect these unjust employers so much as the fear of losing their ill-gotten gains.

From what is here said it must not be supposed that the Trade Boards Act is held to solve the wage difficulty. It falls far short of satisfying even the demand for a living wage. But it provides a minimum below which wages may not fall, and in practice it will come about that many employers will find it to their advantage to give wages considerably above the minimum rate. This they will be enabled to do on account of the improvement in trade brought about by the higher standard of work.

The Act is a first step in the right direction. It is an earnest of better things to come, a move towards the true and only settlement of the wages question, for it is based on the Christian principles of individual rights, personal dignity, and justice.

CHAPTER V

OPERATION AND CO-OPERATION

AT the Fourth Annual Meeting of the National Anti-Sweating League, held on July 27, 1910, the Report of the Secretary, Mr. J. J. Mallon, held out the assurance to the members of the League that though it was

"too early to speak confidently of the ultimate results of the Trade Boards experiment, so far there was nothing to report which need discourage those who have assisted the new legislation."¹

The Trade Boards Act had then been in operation not seven completed months. Since then the administration of the Act has advanced at an astounding pace. Yet additional experience has served to increase and not to diminish the early hopefulness.²

Closely identified with and to some degree responsible for the successful agitation which resulted in the passing of the Trade Boards Act, Mr. J. J. Mallon has, since it came into force, devoted his untiring energies to the practical working of the Act.

He, conjointly with other experts like Miss Mary MacArthur, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, Mr. Alfred Evans, and Mr. J. T. Smith, of the Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters' Association, have, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, assisted upon the different Boards as representatives of the workers. It seems to us necessary to state these facts that the true worth of our authority may be fully

¹ Fourth Annual Report of the National Anti-Sweating League, pp. 12 and 13.

² The *Women's Industrial News*, April, 1911: "Operations under the Trade Boards Act," by J. J. Mallon, p. 56.

allowed. Most tentative schemes occasion doubts and fears, but when a scheme is concerned with a social question of the colossal dimensions of the sweating problem, the number of the pessimistic and the sceptical appears a formidable obstacle to progress. But one expert witness can dispatch a host of needlessly timid and unduly wise minds, and it is well that Mr. Mallon holds the field with his up-to-date weapons of fact to withstand the world-old implements of foolish scepticism and unfounded criticism. With many the Trade Boards Act is an idle measure. The truth is that the past year and a half provide a history of social development which, in the rapidity of its growth and in its thoroughness, is quite amazing. Trade Boards have been established in all four of the scheduled trades—a board for the chain-makers at Cradley Heath, another for lace-finishers at Nottingham, and two in London for the tailoring and box-making trades.

What this fact implies is beyond all ordinary conception. Before a step could be taken towards the erection of the Boards, the organisation of the workers was absolutely essential. Without something approaching completeness of organisation, no deliberation of the Trade Boards could be considered fair; much less would any determination have been of any lasting avail. Organisation is the digging of the trenches—and when the pauperism and the discouragement of the workers is considered, ground less suited could scarcely be found the world over—as well as the laying of the foundation of the practical administration of the Act.¹

It has been stated that at a rough estimate over three hundred thousand people were affected by the Act. Of these the tailoring trade alone claims some two hundred and fifty thousand, who, by a proportion of two to one, are females; probably more than fifty thousand are engaged in box-making; the lace-finishers at Nottingham are computed at about ten thousand women, and the chain-workers are in excess

¹ Fourth Annual Report, p. 6.

of two thousand.¹ These figures are sufficient to indicate the immensity of the task of organisation. Fortunately the Anti-Sweating League has received aid, where aid could possibly be rendered, from various existing societies. Thus the Clothiers' Operatives' Union has succeeded in enrolling some thousands of sweated workers ; one town alone provided about a thousand female members. The box-makers are ranging themselves among the members of the Amalgamated Society of Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters. In London a special branch of this Society has been established for box-makers, the membership of which is upwards of five hundred, while "in Manchester practically every girl engaged in card-box-making is a member of the Union." Through the kindly relations between the Anti-Sweating League, the Secretary of the Chain Makers' Union, and the Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, the women chain-makers of Cradley Heath have united by forming a branch of the National Federation of Women Workers. But for the lace-workers of Nottingham no means of organisation were ready to hand. Here there were "not even the beginnings of organisation, and the Anti-Sweating League in that trade had, unassisted, to plough virgin soil."²

"Among the lace-workers, the poorest and most apathetic with whom the League has to deal, the Union which has been formed is at present not very powerful. In that they live next door to one another in contiguous streets, the lace-workers' condition is, however, roughly analogous to that of workers in a factory. A house-to-house canvass has been carried out amongst them and has aroused their interest. Meetings are now being held in all the lace-working streets, and it is probable that as a result an important organisation of home workers will for the first time be formed in this country."³

If the Trade Boards Act should prove a futile measure—a supposition to a large degree already outside the

¹ "Daily News Year Book" : "Trade Boards and Sweating," by J. J. Mallon, p. 202 ; and the *Women's Industrial News*, loc. cit., p. 57.

² Fourth Annual Report, pp. 7, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

bounds of probability—it will not be possible to allege that the pioneers had not been trained for the engineering of so huge an enterprise, and that in their endeavour to construct they had not taken sufficient cognisance of all adverse forces. Difficulties which make for wreckage there unquestionably are. The possibility of evasion of the law, the lack of continued support of the workers in the event of lasting trade depression, are among the sources of fear for the ultimate success of the operation of the Act. Resolutely faced, however, the obstacles in the way of the Trade Boards Act may be surmounted, and the best guarantee that they will be overcome is the splendid unity already attained among the operatives. Organisation is yet far from complete, nevertheless it has progressed to such an extent that procedure to the erection of Boards has been only a natural development.

If other testimony, not less emphatic, in favour of the capable administration of the Act were required, it is amply provided by the work of the District Committees.

For a localised trade, a Trade Board is manifestly sufficient for all emergencies: the Board and the trade are in actual contact, and, therefore, need no intermediary. But the position is wholly different with the extended industries. That a Central Board should pretend to deal, in an adequate manner, with the myriad details demanding settlement before wages for either time or piece work could be as much as thought of, independently of the knowledge of varying local conditions, is an obvious absurdity. The situation had been clearly foreseen and fully understood. In the framing of the Trade Boards Act cog was made to fit cog and wheel to drive wheel, and it was provided that the Central Boards should have at their command the reliable advice of District Committees.¹

Having seen in brief review the thoroughness with which the Trade Boards have been equipped, we may

¹ "Daily News Year Book," p. 202.

naturally anticipate large benefits to the oppressed workers from their operation.

At Cradley Heath a Trade Board in the chain trade was formed immediately on the Act being enforced. Its establishment was a work of comparative ease. The restricted area of the trade, the smallness of the number employed who fall within the limits of the schedule, the freedom of the trade from many external complexities which have hampered progress on other Boards, all conspired to facilitate the administration of the Act. The Board consisted of ten members, five elected by the employers and five by the employees, with three official representatives of the Board of Trade. The payment of the workers had, for a generation, sunk so low that they could not earn sufficient to enable them of themselves to uphold their efficiency. The Trade Board met and at length fixed "upon a time rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour as minimum for the making of hand-hammered chains." Interpreted as piece rate, this finding of the Board means an increase from 80 per cent. to as much as even 150 per cent, on the net wage.

"Many workers, for instance, who received for a certain class of chain 3s. 3d. per cwt. now get 6s. 6d. Whereas, making 2 cwt. under the old conditions and paying 2s. 6d. out of their gross wage for fuel and the rent of the forge, they would have a net wage of 4s., they now, earning a gross wage of 13s. and paying 2s. 6d. as heretofore, retain 10s. 6d., an increase of 150 per cent. Workers on low-quality chains employed full time (54 hours) are now found to be earning 12s., 13s., or even 14s."¹

The new rate has now received legal sanction, and its payment will be insisted on under pain of the penalties for infringement stipulated by the Act.

Nor have the men been less fortunate.

"In the sweated section of the men's trade, known as the 'dollied' and 'tonnied' (names of hammers with a treadle

¹ *Women's Industrial News*, pp. 57, 58.

operated by men and exceptional women), results not dissimilar have been obtained. A minimum of 5d. an hour has been fixed for the worst quality of this class of work. For better work higher minimum rates ranging from 5½d. to 7d. per hour have been fixed. These rates will yield for a full week of 54 hours wages of from 22s. 6d. to 31s. 6d.”¹

In the case of the lace trade the Board has had a task which in many ways might be considered a test of the practicability of the Trade Boards Act. On the one hand there was the “extreme misery of the lace out-workers,” due to “almost unbelievable under-payment,” which was often accentuated by the “poor quality of the draw-threads which they had to take out of the lace.” On the other the difficulties arising from the middle-woman system and from foreign competition had to be confronted. What changes the Trade Board has wrought will be best told in Mr. Mallon’s own words :—

“Although only constituted in the latter part of 1909, the lace-finishing Board has already performed the greater part of its work, and as far as it has gone has been strikingly successful. The attempt of the workers to get a time rate fixed of 3d. per hour was for a long time resisted by the employers. At last a half-way house was found in the fixation of a rate of 2¾d. per hour up to and including September 30, 1912, and a rate of 3d. per hour thereafter.

“The task of translating this time rate into piece prices occasioned little difficulty at Nottingham. The piece list on which previously the middle-women were paid was held, after consideration, to be such as would ensure the ordinary worker a time rate of 2¾d. an hour. It was, therefore, adopted with the proviso that the prices are to be revised later on to take account of the extra ¼d. per hour to be added to the minimum rate after September 30, 1912. The further stipulation is made that where the middle-woman does not interpose between the warehouse and the worker, and the latter fetches and carries her own work, an additional sum to be fixed later is to be paid. It will be seen that the middle-woman where she acts now becomes responsible for the payment of the minimum rate, and she is left to get from the warehouse a percentage over and above the price to be paid to the worker.”²

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 58.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 60.

The Board for the ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring trade has been set up only within the last few months. But the Board of the paper-box trade, which is one of the large industries and is both widely spread and decentralised, affords another encouraging aspect of the administration of the Trade Boards Act. In addition to the distinctness of the match-box-making industry, the trade is rendered the more complex by the fact that many large manufacturers in other enterprises now undertake themselves to make their own boxes. To embrace these two elements, a more comprehensive constitution of the Trade Board was necessary. Again, in order to meet the exigencies of this essentially "non-grouped" industry and to render the work of the Board fully satisfactory and conclusive, the Board of Trade has established nine District Committees. A characteristic of the negotiations between the operatives and their masters has been the concerted action of the latter and the representation of their deliberations through a legal adviser. In consequence both sides, in their endeavour to feel their way, strove to hold impossible positions. However, it is pleasing to observe that on occasion the employers from districts where a more liberal wage has been in vogue have sided against their own class with the representatives of the workers in their reasonable demands. But much more gratifying is it to be able to state that when eventually, on February 22, 1911, the Board brought the Reports of the District Committees under consideration, despite the protracted discussion,

"a decision was reached on all points without the three appointed members having to give a vote, the arrangement being briefly as follows :—

"A minimum time rate of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to be declared at once and to operate without any waiting period as from June 1, 1911. After January 30, 1912, the minimum rate to become one of 3d. and after January 30, 1913, one of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour." ¹

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 62.

As at Cradley Heath, the Trade Board stipulated for the regulation of the number of apprentices to be employed and for a time rate of payment, which, commencing at 4s. 6d. per week for the first six months, is gradually through three years to be increased to 11s. 6d. for the last half year.

The alteration in wages which will result from the new rate cannot at present be definitely gauged. There is difficulty in ascertaining the precise wage which, for different classes of work, is being paid in various localities.

However, to compare such increase as will ensue with the average rate of payment in times long past would be a totally mistaken view, for the changed conditions of the box-making industry, by reason of the introduction of machinery and the division and subdivision of labour, have necessitated another criterion of comparison. The question at issue is, Has the Trade Board notably bettered existing conditions? The guarded response which Mr. Mallon makes will be the more appreciated for the fact that until reliable information is at hand he declines to commit himself. Yet his estimate is of value. "Such figures of existing payments as are available," he writes, "are by no means exhaustive, and it is very unsafe to generalise from them." Still, he affirms that whereas the average payment, taking one district with another, may realise from 10s. to 12s. per week, the minimum is after 1912 to be 14s. for workers of three years' service.¹

Co-operation.

The hopefulness which we venture to entertain regarding this most beneficent legislation, the Trade Boards Act, is surely warranted by the data provided by its brief history. From an account of its operation to a few practical suggestions concerning the best

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 62, 63.

method of co-operation in the application of a remedy, so effective and at the same time so humane, is but a natural step.

The first practical step towards a speedy solution of the sweating problem is evidently to set the correct underlying principles of Catholic ethics before the public mind.¹ Thinking men outside the Church are more and more realising the truth that there can be no practical solution to this question apart from the intervention of religion. They are being driven to the same inevitable conclusion by the unrest as much as by the advancing power of the people. The great commercial world, devoted to gain, immersed in materialism, pays no heed to any code save that which, so constantly in defiance of morality, favours the amassing of money. The price which the working classes are paying as the tribute of their servility to the lords of capital is regarded as a necessary condition, established and perpetuated by an economic law. What the vast world of commerce does not understand is that an economic law is not, as a physical law, stable and fixed, but may be repealed, changed, and supplanted even by and according to the whim and caprice of a new force in the market. What commerce is oblivious to is that if social unrest shall not give place to social contentment, the twentieth-century slave will turn against his master, and another economic law, as ethically unsound and unjust as the individualism which obtains to-day, will hold sway. The slave will be the lord and the slave will frame the law.²

Education in the principles of justice is the primary need of both classes, employer and employed alike. Even the Trade Boards Act will prove a spurious reform unless the ethical code, of which it is the practical expression, be universally recognised and accepted. To efface the sweating evil it is first necessary to dig at the roots. In a propaganda against

¹ "The Pope and the People," p. 17.

² Ninth Eucharistic Congress Report, Westminster, p. 550.

the prevalent spirit of individualism on the one hand and on the other a threatening disquietude of far greater extent there is no room for the timid. Men and women confident in their cause, enthusiastic in their work are the crying need of a distressed society, and the urgent demand of a sympathetic Church. Still, no one may laide another's shoulders with his own impelling duty. According as they are possessed of "rank and wealth and superior culture,"

"we would have them consider for themselves that they are not free to choose whether they will take up the cause of the poor or not : it is a matter of simple duty."¹

Such is the injunction of the late Sovereign Pontiff. And many who have neither taste nor opportunity to assist in applying the provisions of the Trade Boards Act may yet learn and teach what it means, the principles it involves, the nature of the evil it proposes to remedy, the actual benefits it offers. The education of the public mind is the surest guarantee of the ultimate and abiding success of the Act. Let true justice supplant the rough justice of the higgling of the market and the Trade Boards Act becomes at once unnecessary, superfluous legislation.

"These are the two factors in the economic instability in our time. It is because so many men and such an increasing number of them have not enough : it is still more because many of even those who have enough and all those who have not are increasingly insecure in their prospect of the future : it is above all because no moral authority is felt or can be discovered for the compulsion of the will of the mass of men by the few owners that modern society is so unstable."²

Besides the general view of a suffering society, it is necessary for the Catholic to take a restricted and personal aspect of the ills of sweating : how far does sweating affect his co-religionists?

¹ "The Pope and the People," pp. 278, 279.

² First National Catholic Congress, 1910. Official Report, "Catholicism and the Means of Production," by Hilaire Belloc, pp. 252-4.

"Destitution is reducing thousands of our fellow-Catholics to a condition of which the loss of faith is the natural sequence. If it is hard for the rich to enter heaven, it is no less hard for the destitute to do so. The former are apt to be immersed in life's superfluities : the latter are absorbed by the fierce struggle to earn a bare living. Degraded poverty is not a favourable condition for the living of a Christian life ; such poverty is not the poverty commended by Christ." ¹

A day-by-day experience reveals the spiritual havoc which ever attends the misery of the slums in our large centres ; and the wider the experience the more clear is the perception how far beyond the capabilities of the average Catholic lies the fulfilment of his duty to his God, to his Church, and to his soul, so long as he remains immersed amid the worry and hopelessness of the present conditions of life. Excellent as are our noble organisations, such as the Ladies of Charity, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Third Order of St. Francis, they have not the means of attacking the evil at its source and can only palliate its worst results. Despite her forces of charity, the Church has hitherto been unable to destroy these abuses. She has sought to stay the spreading of the cankerous wound. Pauperism, palpably due in so large a measure to sweating, is one of those social ills in which Pope Leo, while upholding that all striving would be in vain without her, owned the Church to be powerless to move without reinforcement from other influences.

"Doubtless this most serious question demands the attention and the efforts of others besides ourselves—to wit, of the rulers of the State, of employers of labour, of the wealthy, aye and of the working classes themselves for whom we are pleading." ²

At length the Trade Boards Act places the prescription in her hands: in truth it is her own prescription, unwittingly written by the State. Possessed of the

¹ "The Catholic Social Year Book," 1910, p. 17.

² "The Pope and the People," p. 11.

remedy, she is dependent upon her children, lay as well as cleric, for its administration. Lecturers and lectures, then, must be provided. Naturally we turn to the Catholic Social Guild, to the Catholic Women's League, and to the Catholic Federation to supply the demand.

But the necessity of the co-ordination of Catholic forces in either the Social Guild, the Women's League, or the Federation becomes more strikingly evident, when it is considered that to restrict a propaganda to the schooling of the indifferent and ignorant is, for all practical purposes, to meet co-operation only halfway. Education is a slow and patient process. But the Trade Boards Act demands instantly workers as well as advocates.¹

The home workers are principally women, and therefore the chief responsibility of co-operation will obviously rest with the Women's Catholic League.² Nevertheless it is beholden on the Catholic Social Guild and the Catholic federal bodies to join forces with the Catholic Women's League and to render willing help,

¹ *Women's Industrial News*, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

² There are other non-legislative remedies against sweating, to one of which attention is called in an interesting and suggestive article entitled "The Consumer's Opportunity" in the *Month* (March, 1911), by J. Elliot Ross, M.A., which depicts the aims, methods, and successful working of an American organisation called the "Consumers' League." It was started in the States in 1891, with this very simple rule of action, viz., that its members agree not to purchase "sweated" goods—i.e., articles in the preparation of which for the market the producers suffer any injustice in the shape of insufficient wage, overwork, bad housing, &c. This, of course, necessitates a knowledge of the conditions of work in various trades. "White Lists" of satisfactory employers are prepared with whom the members can safely deal. This organisation, highly successful in the place of its origin, has since spread into France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Spain. We believe its principle has been adopted in this country by the Christian Social Union, but to what extent it has proved operative we are not prepared to state. Obviously, where at all practicable, the principle is one which should determine the action of all good Christians; for to purchase goods the cheapness of which is known to be the result of sweating clearly is to participate in the injustice. We consider the matter well worth the attention of that widespread organisation, the Catholic Women's League, for it is generally with the women that the control of domestic expenditure lies.

where possible, to extend and to increase their organisation. In order to avoid overlapping, concert with expert authority should be observed, and the Anti-Sweating League will, we are assured, gladly advise.

The proposed plan of co-operation in the administration of the Trade Boards Act discloses another means by which Catholics may aid in social redress and display the "strong endeavour" of Holy Church.

For the rest it may be stated that no opportunity was ever so propitious for a national Catholic social movement as is provided by the Trade Boards Act. Co-operation with this most estimable measure means both mercy and justice, virtues the practice of which will inevitably consolidate the entire Catholic body by welding the rich with the poor, separated so long and so far from their more fortunate brethren by an un-Christian pauperism of which they are the helpless and blameless victims, and at the same time, by their extension to all sufferers, irrespective of creed or no creed, will win the gratitude and admiration of the nation. The Trade Boards Act involves none of the pecuniary expense which has attended and perforce curtailed so many Catholic social enterprises. The Trade Boards Act demands expenditure of personal sacrificing labour to reconstruct society according to principles in which every Catholic rightfully glories.

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III.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

EDITED BY

LESLIE A. St. L. TOKE, B.A.

LONDON

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Wise Man wrote, "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety,"¹ he presumably had in view a society wherein the fundamental principles of belief and conduct were not in dispute. Nowadays his assertion cannot be accepted without much qualification. In matters of purely temporal concern, it is doubtless prudent to hear every side before coming to a decision; but in matters affected by the unchanging moral law, the same prudence suggests recourse to whatever authority exists to preserve and interpret that law. Catholics believe that they have such an authority in the Church of Rome, and to the teaching of that Church they naturally turn when faced with any project of political or social reform which has a moral bearing. In the multitude of counsellors that beset them, safety, they feel, lies in following that one in whom the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom permanently abides.

The series of Manuals on Social Questions, of which the present volume is the third to appear, has been planned by the Catholic Social Guild with the express object of examining current problems of citizenship in the light of Christian principles, thus furnishing, for the benefit of those who are bewildered by the number and variety of the social panaceas proposed, some means of

¹ Prov. xi. 14.

distinguishing what is ethically sound from what is based upon false or distorted ideals. As has often been pointed out, it is no part of the Church's direct mission to originate or promote works of merely worldly utility. Her business is to teach the individual to observe the laws of justice towards God and man, and so to secure his soul's salvation. She rejoices, of course, in the fact that the observance of those laws is also highly conducive to the temporal well-being of the community, but that is not her first or chief care.

Hence it is that the Church claims, in the interest of her children, the right of criticising such measures of social betterment as are not entirely material in their scope and effect. Those who believe in her claims have no difficulty in accepting her guidance, for they know that the divine assistance, which guarantees the correctness of her final judgments on moral questions, operates also to prevent her judging on insufficient or unsafe grounds. Where principles of morality are not involved, or where their precise application is really doubtful, she is careful not to interfere with the liberty of her members.

In this series, then, it is proposed, after a sketch of the history of each question, to show in what points and to what degree Catholic doctrine is involved, what projects are, at least negatively, sound, what motives exist for energetic action, and what Catholic agencies are already at work. It will thus be made abundantly clear that the Church, which played so prominent a part in social reform in the past, has a distinct and very salutary message for the present generation—a message which it is the duty of her faithful members to promulgate with all the zeal and energy in their power.

PREFACE

IT will be noticed that this little book differs, in several respects, from the ordinary manuals on the Housing Problem. It presents no history of housing and hardly any statistics : it gives but slight indication of the housing-reforms that are being attempted throughout the length and breadth of England : it touches but lightly on questions of ground-rents and their taxation, of sanitation-laws and transit-problems : it even omits any detailed explanation of the provisions of the various Housing Acts which have been passed during the last generation. On the other hand, its first chapter is devoted to the ideal of a Christian home ; its other two chapters are rather descriptive of the evils that exist and of the main agencies of reform than indicative of how to set these agencies in operation and what their operation would cost ; while the " appendix " consists of a fanciful description of a Catholic " garden-city," which certainly does not now exist and of which there is as yet no prospect !

Well, the apparently " unpractical " nature of this manual is due, not to any oversight on the part of its authors, but to deliberate intention ; for there are already in existence several excellent and quite cheap handbooks on the housing question (two or three are indicated in the bibliography at the end), and it would be waste of time and of energy to produce yet another.

But the movements for housing-reform, *like most of the enthusiastic and devoted work for social reforms in modern England*, have expended no little of their force in vain, and, in some cases, resulted in almost worse evils than they attacked. For this there are three reasons: first, their promoters have largely lost sight of the religious and social traditions of the English people *for whose benefit the reform is desired*; secondly, they are by no means agreed among themselves as to what direction their reforms should take, or what result they wish to achieve; thirdly, as a natural result of these two mistakes, the various enthusiasts for eccentric social theories have had considerable scope for experimenting upon the unfortunate "lower orders," with a view to encouraging "social reconstruction" in the direction each theorist happens to prefer. The homes of the poor have been inspected and regulated and pulled down over their heads and transformed into "dwellings" and "working-class flats" and "associated houses" and what not, until the very idea of *home*, at least as a sacred, inviolable possession of the working-classes, has almost been abolished! The usual nemesis has followed an abandonment of Christian social principle by the directing minds of the nation: the faddists and the enemies of Christian tradition between them have brought the housing movement into no little confusion, and have almost succeeded in eradicating, from the minds of those that they intended to help, the very hope of privacy, of freedom from interference, of *the mastery of each family within the precincts of its home*, which are the accepted heritage of a Christian people. The whole housing movement is in need of "re-orientation." The ends towards which the efforts of housing reformers should tend, *the ideals of the Christian home and of the Christian community*,

require to be re-stated in clear language and applied to the problems of town and country alike ; so that Catholic workers in this field, at least, may have some criterion of what methods are acceptable and what are not, what expedients should be supported as favourable and what opposed as unfavourable to the growth of Christian social habits and traditions. This criterion it has been the primary aim of the contributors to this manual to provide. If they shall also have aroused among their fellow-Catholics any interest in the important "housing problem," they will be amply repaid.

The Editor desires to thank the Very Rev. Monsignor Benson and the Editor of the *Dublin Review* for permission to reprint the former's stimulative essay on "A Catholic Colony."

LESLIE A. ST. L. TOKE.





THE HOUSING PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

THE first thing necessary in considering the question of housing-reform is to set out clearly the principles in accordance with which it should be approached. Reform is needed because we are failing to attain our purpose; what is that purpose? And in seeking it, what principles must we hold to in regard to the tenant, the landlord, the State? Unless we have our final purpose always in view, it is easy to work against it unknowingly. Athletics are very desirable, as a means to health; but a man often in his zeal for athletics does things that are very bad for his health. He sacrifices the end to the means. So in industry, it is good that what all need should be so cheap that all may get it; cheapness is desirable for the welfare of men. But often it is forgotten that the welfare of men is the end, and it is only remembered that cheapness is desirable; and then in countless ways the welfare of men is sacrificed in order to achieve cheapness. The end is sacrificed to the means. In regard to housing, if we look only to beauty, or cheapness, or rent, it is easy to pursue these things in such a way as to defeat the ultimate good for which we should be working.

What, then is the purpose of housing?

GOOD FAMILY LIFE THE GOAL

The house is for the family.

Hotels and Barracks and Orphanages are wanted for other kinds of living, and must be shaped to suit other kinds of living. A house is wanted to be a home where family life can grow to its best. When Catholics speak of good housing, they mean housing that is good for family life; and in considering what is proper housing, the final test question on every detail will be, "Is this good or bad for family life?"

To ask, then, what principles should guide us in the matter of housing is really to ask first, "What is good family life?" and then, "What kind of house does it require?"

Good family life is the nursery of all those virtues that are needed to bind man to man in a healthy State.

First and highest let us put purity. By living together in the family, brother and sister learn that the highest love goes with the highest reverence. The love of brother and sister for one another is the pattern from which men and women learn how they should treat each other. Friendship, intimacy, love, between brothers and sisters express themselves not by intrusion, but by reverence. Any breach of reverence is a breach of love. From this home-growth spread the virtues of courtesy and chivalry which keep society pure.

Next, the family nurses true obedience. Slaves tremble and obey; but in the family the children love, reverence, and obey. As reverence, so now obedience is found to be no obstacle to love, but rather one of love's tools. Love shows itself by obeying. Your child obeys you, not because it sees that your way is best, but because it knows that it is your place to command, and because its love leads it to give you your rightful place. From this home-growth men learn to accept authority in society, to obey the foreman, the station-master, the policeman, each in his own department, foolish though his orders may be.

Thirdly, in the family men learn to command, to govern. The father learns in his daily life what true authority is, what is the meaning of being head and ruler of the family: it is to work for those under him, and to control them for their own good. The father's authority rooted in the father's love is the pattern for all authority in this world, for priests with their flocks, governors with their peoples, masters and employers with their servants; as it is itself modelled on the loving law-making and providence of God, from Whom all fatherhood is named. If a man thinks only in the abstract about authority and obedience and reverence, or if he studies them only in unhealthy phases of society, such as slavery and sweating, he will easily think that these are evil and unmanly things, and he will denounce all authority as tyranny, all obedience as slavery, all reverence as servility. But if he will study these things in family life; and chiefly in that Holy Family which is our model, he will find that in their true nature authority and obedience and reverence are good and beautiful things, fitted to bind society together as they bind the family together. True authority makes not a tyrant but a father. True obedience makes not a slave but a son. True reverence is the reverence of brother for sister, of child for parent, and of parent for child.

THE NEEDS OF FAMILY LIFE

When we are inquiring if family life is healthy we begin with the most elementary things. Are its members properly fed, clothed, sheltered, and provided for? Of these questions we shall have to consider, in this place, only that of shelter. Is the house healthy and safe? If we find that the children are well enough clad and fed and sheltered, we go higher; are they instructed and corrected as they ought to be, or are they growing up wild and unchecked? If the latter be the fact, we shall have to ask if the fault be in the housing. Perhaps the children cannot be kept at home under the parent's eye. Perhaps the endless drudgery of an inconvenient house

uses up all the mother's energy, and she has neither time nor strength to give to correcting the children. This is radically wrong. For, even in the poorest stages of society, where every member of the family has to work all day to provide for bodily wants, the parents can and do use this work to train their children in the fundamental virtues of obedience, and work, and prayer.

If we find that the children are sufficiently provided for and sufficiently corrected, we pass to the highest stage and ask, are they getting a share of such culture as the country possesses—needlework, handicrafts, reading, music. And if not, is this again the fault of the house? Perhaps it is so dark, or so cramped, or so overcrowded, that none of these things can go on in it.

From the tenant's side, therefore, we have to take account of a number of points: healthiness, safety, privacy, control of children, work in house or garden, culture, security of tenure.

HEALTHINESS AND SAFETY

The house must be one where the family can be brought up in bodily health and safety. For health it must be warm, dry, roomy, with ample fresh air and light, with good water supply and drainage. It must be safe, not only solid in construction, but sound in design and fitting. One finds not only leaking roofs, bulging walls, and warping timbers, but other dangers: cordless windows that crash down as soon as lifted; doors so handled that the knuckles are trapped against the door-jamb if one uses the wrong hand to shut the door; stairs as steep as a ladder, but without the ladder's safeguards of firm hold for hand and foot; passages from room to room so low that an ordinary person knocks his head against the arch.

PRIVACY

The privacy required is twofold, privacy for the family and privacy for the individual. The family has a right

to live its own internal life without being subject to the intrusion or the overlooking of others. For this, there must be separate homes for separate families, so enclosed that there is no difficulty in keeping out undesired visitors, or in keeping the children from outside influence. And the work of the family must be able to go on without being overlooked by neighbours. It should be mentioned that Blessed Thomas More's plan of having his married children living with him, each in their own apartments, is quite a good and healthy family life, so long as the apartments are really places where the younger families can be apart as much as they wish.

The privacy of the individual requires chiefly a bathroom and sufficient bedrooms. Normally three bedrooms must be the minimum for family life—a boys' room, a girls' room, and the parents' room. Besides, there should be a small sitting-room and scullery, in addition to the large living-room; without these the scullery work intrudes on the meals, and there is nowhere to escape to for a little quiet, or thought, or private talk.

CONTROL OF CHILDREN

If the parents are to have proper control of the children, so as to choose their companions, keep them away from undesirable places, and direct the spending of their time, they must be able to keep the children at home. For this privacy is needed, and room. There must be so much privacy of house and garden that, when the parents wish it, the children can be kept from all companionship but their own. But this is not enough; it is useless keeping the children at home if you cannot occupy them there. So the house must be large enough

“and adequate garden room should surround it to enable the housewife and young children to find, with the plants, the animals, and the domestic industries, occupation and amusement at home.”¹

¹ Devas, “Political Economy,” page 147.

Such a garden-playground must be the ideal to aim at wherever possible. The town playground is a very poor substitute; it is a confession that at home the child cannot be kept interested, and that he must find amusement where he is beyond his parents' guidance and control. This ideal is said to be realised at present in the rural parts of the United States. It certainly could be realised in rural England; and in the towns we shall learn from the garden-cities experiment how far it is possible. The play spaces provided at all corners in a garden city keep the children at least within call of the mother's voice, and for this reason are far better than a few large parks.

WORK IN THE HOUSE

Work in the house must be judged on the same principles as all work: there must be enough, and not too much. The body must have a sufficiency of exercise if it is to be strong and healthy. On the other hand, over-exertion tires and weakens the bodily muscles. So also a proper amount of work is the necessary means for healthy and happy life in the family or in society; but excessive work destroys healthy life in the family and in society. When, therefore, we try to plan a house so as to save labour, our object must be, not a home without work, but a home without overwork. In a home where all the food is bought ready cooked, where the fewest possible dishes and clothes are used, and these are only cleaned when absolutely necessary, where beds are made monthly, where the washing is sent out and the home cleaning is done by a charwoman, the saving of labour is very great. But the house is no *home*. There is something missing—not furniture, nor food, nor anything that money can buy. It is the spirit of work, the spirit that says this house shall be kept in order, with little work if possible; but, whether with little work or with much, it shall be in order. When that spirit is missing, the home is only made worse by higher wages and shorter hours; these only mean more money to waste and more time to waste. Now if anyone will compare the cleanliness and comfort of many country

cottages with the filth and discomfort of many town houses, or will compare these with their cleaner neighbours, he will find that most of the difference is due not to difference of wages, but to the tradition of housework, the tradition of making the best of everything, preserving everything, taking care of everything. Poverty consists partly in not having, but still more in not knowing how to keep and use what you have. One man may spend on an average no more than two or three shillings a year on umbrellas; another may spend two or three pounds and be no better sheltered. So this tradition of work in the house is a large part of the wealth of a family; even as the wealth of a nation consists chiefly in the skill and industry of the citizens. Things that make work pleasant and happy are good for the family life; things that discourage or destroy the spirit of work or the tradition of work are bad for it.

Now this tradition of work concerns the housing question in two ways.

1. The house must be so made that it can be kept in order with reasonable work. If not, if it needs excessive work, it is a direct temptation, and leads many wives to give up the struggle and rest content in filth and disorder. For this reason the size of the house should suit the size of the family; an overcrowded house cannot be kept clean, and there is no interest in cleaning the unused rooms of too large a house. Also, water and fuel should be in convenient places, that there may be no waste of work in carrying them. Again, the floors, walls, and ceilings should be such that they can be kept clean with reasonable care. One finds open rafters, crumbling walls that will not hold paper, uneven wooden or stone floors that destroy linoleums. In such a house all the wife's strength is spent—a losing fight for the first elements of home life, with no chance of attending to higher things. And it is no wonder if many lose heart and think the result is not worth the effort.

2. There ought to be a certain amount of uniformity in the fittings of the houses in a district. The reason is that fittings are useless without the knowledge of how to make use of them, and that this knowledge must grow and be handed on by tradition. As in cooking: if a Spanish family settle in an English town, where they cannot get Spanish materials for cooking, they will be in a bad way for a time.

They have their own traditions of cooking, and could make delightful meals if they had the materials. They have the English materials but no knowledge of how to use them; until they have learned the English tradition, their cooking will be chiefly spoiling good food. So in using a house there is need of knowledge, and this tradition of knowledge grows by continued familiarity with one type of fitting. But if people are to learn a new type of boiler and cooking range, a new system of cooking and washing, every time they move to a new house, their tradition of using them is broken, and the result will be only the spoiling of good fittings through neglect and ignorance.

CULTURE

We have seen that literary and other culture may be made impossible by having a house too dark or too small. Besides being roomy and light the house must be in good taste—not positively ugly. The surroundings must be beautiful, gardens and trees being preserved or made possible. And the outlook must be beautiful; for which purpose the neighbourhood must be kept beautiful, and the aspect of each house must be considered in planning it.

If it be asked, can all this be expected in providing labourers' dwellings? the answer must be an uncompromising "Yes." It must be remembered that *the only justification for having a wealthy class in the country is that it raises the level of life for all.* All men in this country *could* have the good of life—support for the body, family life, and culture—in fuller measure than is possible to the Red Indian or the Hottentot. Now if they are expected to stay in conditions which destroy family life, and if they are cut off from that refinement and opening of the mind which comes from living among trees and beauty, you are offering them a lower life than the Hottentots. And to offer them a lower and emptier life instead of a fuller and higher life is to take away the only reason for having wealth in the country. To ask them to be content with it for the sake of the country's wealth, is to defeat the very purpose for which that wealth exists. It is a direct invitation to them to destroy that wealth,

FIXITY OF TENURE

A family should be secure in the possession of a home. They should not be liable to be turned out simply to make room for others, or simply because misfortune has come on them. On this point the Catholic proposals sound ultra-Radical. But if we consider all that is destroyed when a home is broken up, and for how little, we shall see that the Catholic view is reasonable. *The State is poorer by the loss of the home life of one family; it is richer in no way.* A few pounds have changed hands; the furniture has left the home where it was useful and gone to the brokers where it is useless and most of it unsaleable. It is as if the town's creditors were permitted to take up the pavements and the water-pipes because the town was bankrupt. Would not the State be better if every family knew that whatever befalls it would still have a home? There are people in the country who know that whatever befalls they have a home and an income that neither they nor their creditors can touch; and this security makes on the whole for good family life and good citizenship. It has been urged that there should be

“such alterations in the law that every agricultural labourer could be endowed with a secure homestead, namely, with a cottage and at least an acre of good land around it or close to it, and be unable to borrow on this homestead, or sell it, or bequeath it away from his family.”¹

And the same author would have a Homestead Exemption Law (from debt).

“Let every individual, and on a larger scale every householder and his dependents, be fenced around with a reserve of inviolable property, which no one can seize; property such as clothes, bedding, implements of his mental or manual work; and if the head of a house, then also his *homestead*, that is, house and land up to a certain value, or certain area, and the live stock, materials, and implements necessary for its cultivation; and let no farming land be mortgaged for more than a modest proportion of its value, and no mortgage valid or homestead alienable without the joint consent of husband and wife.”²

¹ Devas, “Political Economy,” page 147.

² *Id.*, *ib.*, page 420.

THE OWNER

The owner of houses must be both able and willing to do the duties of his position. Houses should be built and owned by a person who is interested in seeing that they are good houses. The two things required, then, are that he should have an interest in providing good houses, and that he should have the power to provide them.

The interest taken by Mr Lever in seeing that the housing is good at Port Sunlight, the interest taken by some nobles in the houses on their estates, by some owners of a small town property, by an enthusiastic chairman of the Housing Committee in some towns, by a family of yeoman-farmers in keeping their own house in good repair, this interest is the important thing. It is the only thing that provides good houses. True reform must aim at encouraging and nursing this interest. It would be a calamity to destroy it and replace it by a mere anxiety to keep by-laws and satisfy surveyors; as unwise education laws destroy a father's interest in his children's education, and make him care only to satisfy the attendance officers and escape fines.

Where is this interest to come from? From many sources; but not from the wish to make money, except only in one case: in those large towns where there are a great number of empty houses, and the money-making landlords have to compete against each other for their tenants. In this case the need of money makes it their interest to provide good houses. But in other cases this interest must come from some nobler source, the yeoman's care for his own family, the earl's for his people, and so on. The Catholic principle is that it should be founded in religion; God has put me in a position where I have to provide a house for this man: I will provide such a house as I would myself expect, if I were in his place.

The house owner must also have the power to make and keep a good house. The building of a house needs capital; the keeping it in repair needs capital, or else leisure and skill to do the work of repairing. There are constant small expenses, and occasional great expenses to be met. It

follows that the house owner should be a man of substantial means, or he cannot do his duty to his tenant.

We can now see what kinds of ownership are desirable or undesirable. It is desirable that every large estate owner, and every large employer, should take an interest in providing good houses for his people. The duty lies on them first; they have the means to do it on a large scale and at reasonable cost, and their position makes it easy and natural for them to take an interest in it. When a public authority is landlord or employer, unquestionably that authority ought to provide housing. Even more desirable is it that there should be many small property owners, shopkeepers and others, owning a few houses and taking a pride in having good tenants in good houses.

How far is it desirable that every family should own its house? Only under two conditions: that the family can afford to keep the house in repair and that their work is such as makes it desirable that they should be tied to a particular house. It is eminently desirable, therefore, that the country districts should be covered with such small owners, making from their land a substantial living, and able from their capital or from their skill to repair and renew their houses when need is. Similarly in towns small shopkeepers and small independent craftsmen, smiths, carpenters and so on, should own their houses since they can afford to keep them in repair, and their business is fixed in one place. But an ordinary town workman must expect sometimes to remove in search of work, as the conditions of production change; and, till happier times, a country workman cannot expect to have either the capital to pay for renewing his house or the training to enable him to do it himself. For either of these the ownership of a house would only be a burden; a constant expense for repairs, ending probably in dilapidation and selling at a loss.

Building societies or clubs have tried to meet this difficulty, but they do not solve the problem. Their purpose is that each member should own his house in the end. For those who can afford to own one house it is an effective means of making the purchase easy. But, as we have seen, these

are a very limited class; and the system does not provide housing for labourers. Moreover, building clubs are not always good landlords of the houses they own. The club's interest is in selling the houses, not in keeping them in repair, and money for repairs is therefore grudged. The weakness of building clubs is that they separate the ownership from the duties of ownership; the houses are owned by a body not directly interested in their being good houses.

The system which best embodies the principles above laid down is co-operative house owning, especially *co-partnership* housing, if the right people will co-operate.

The owner should be interested in having good houses: should be able to afford to make them good. The great employers or estate owners should take a large interest in the housing of their people. The people should be sure of a house of suitable size, yet not be tied to a particular house once it becomes unsuitable. The co-operative system which secures all these advantages has been thus described.

"A better example is the plan adopted by the firm of Van Marken, at Delft, in Holland, placing the ownership not in the despotic hands of the employer, nor in the slippery hands of the workmen, but in those of a joint stock company, of which both employers and employed are shareholders. And the shares can only be transferred with the consent of the directors. Hence the workpeople enjoy fixity of tenure in their dwellings, unless their misconduct is such that the company, where the voice of their fellow-workmen is heard, expels them. And while thus secure they are not tied by the ownership of a particular house, but can shift to one smaller or larger according to the needs of the family, and can leave altogether without loss."¹

Co-partnership of this sort,² where both the thinking-out of the problem and the power to solve it belong to the people most concerned, seems a thoroughly sound and Catholic system; a modern parallel to the working of the ancient guilds.

THE DUTY OF THE STATE

When we have seen what kind of housing is desirable, we cannot merely leave it to the State to provide such housing.

¹ Devas, "Political Economy," page 565.

² Cf. also pages 37 and 48 of this Manual.

For the State has its own work to do; and the providing of houses belongs naturally, as we have seen, to others. What is the State's work? First to make clear what are the rights of landlord and tenant, of families, parents, and children, and to protect those rights by preventing and punishing invasions of them. In regard to housing the State must first prevent and punish the providing of unfit houses.

Secondly, it is the State's work to make it possible and easy for individuals to enjoy their rights to the full. We have seen that parents and children may miss the higher goods of family life, or even a full share of its necessities, through the force not of injustice, but of circumstances. And owners may be hindered from providing good houses by natural or legal difficulties. It is the State's work to consider these circumstances and difficulties and to remove them as far as possible, so as to make the providing of good houses possible and easy. Hence such work as town planning, the making of bridges, tramways, etc., to facilitate the passing from workshop to dwelling house, the diffusing of knowledge of how to build well and cheaply, are all proper work for the State.

Thirdly, just as there are exceptional cases where, through the death or neglect of a child's parents, the State has actually to do the parents' work, so there are exceptional cases where the State has actually to provide houses instead of encouraging the owner or employer to provide them. These cases are of two kinds: first where the State itself is the owner or the employer, as in dockyard and arsenal towns; and secondly, where it is found impossible to persuade or compel persons to do their duty in this matter.

When a child is not being properly educated, the first remedy is to make the parents liable to prosecution; the last remedy, in extreme cases, is to remove the child to a State truant school. The same order should be observed in regard to housing; the first remedy is to make big employers liable to prosecution because their workpeople are badly housed; the last remedy for extreme cases is to build State houses.¹

¹ Devas, "Political Economy," page 150.

The destruction of slums is *by itself* no remedy. It may be used by unscrupulous landlords as a means of adding to their rents. By getting their slums condemned and closed just before new houses are ready for habitation, they can force the poor to look for shelter anywhere and at any cost, with the result that the new houses are taken at high rents, and the general level of rents is raised. And some of the outcasts exchange their three-roomed house for a one-roomed apartment and the overcrowding is only made worse.

In the same way a sudden great improvement in town conditions would destroy itself by increasing the rush from the country.

State action should not only discourage bad house-building, but also encourage good house-building. It has even been suggested that workmen's dwellings in proper sanitary condition and let at a fair rental should be exempted from rates and taxes.¹ What happens at present is this. At every rise in the rates, the landlord adds a round sum, 3d. or 6d. a week, to the rent of the house, so that it is actually profitable to a grinding landlord that the rates should rise. On the other side there is nothing to encourage an employer to provide good houses simply for the sake of his people; the capital outlay, the harassing by-laws, the knowledge that he is adding to his rateable value, all combine to hold him back. But if good houses for workmen were made exempt from rates both these evils would be remedied.

It may be useful to put shortly the few principles which are at the root of all that has been said in this chapter.

1. The purpose of good housing is to enable families to do most completely all the duties of family life; not to relieve them of those duties.

2. On every property, and in every industry, proper provision for the workers (including housing) should be a first charge. Therefore the responsibility of providing good houses lies first on the owners of land and of industries.

3. It is unhealthy, socially speaking, to have houses owned by people who have no interest in making them good houses, or no power to do so. It is most healthy that they should be owned by those directly interested in having good

¹ Devas, "Political Economy," page 151.

houses in good surroundings. (That is—by the tenants and the estate owners jointly.)

4. The State's functions are: to punish neglect of duty; to foster good housing (by suitable by-laws, by spreading knowledge and advice, by providing roads, water, plans, town plans, etc., etc.); and in exceptional cases actually to provide houses.

CHAPTER II

HOUSING IN GREAT CITIES

THE urgency of the housing problem in our large industrial cities is beyond dispute. The evil of insufficient, insanitary dwelling-places was officially established over a quarter of a century ago by the Royal Commission on the housing of the working classes—the Commission on which Cardinal Manning was so prominent a figure—and no one would venture to assert that it has been adequately dealt with in the intervening years. York, Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, each in turn has been the subject of special investigation and the scene of a variety of interesting housing experiments. London, since the inception of Mr Charles Booth's monumental work has, in the extent and diversity of its housing evils, given rise to continuous controversy, some measure of reform, and a voluminous housing bibliography. The facts indeed have been demonstrated time after time; what has not always been recognised as it should be is the close connection between bad housing and those moral and material evils of working-class life that reformers of every creed are at one in deploring.

The problem in its practical aspect falls under two headings. There is the overcrowding in any given area, whether of houses to the acre or of individuals to the tenement; and there is the insanitary condition and faulty construction of the buildings themselves. Where, as usually happens, these conditions exist simultaneously, we have what it is customary to accept as a slum area and with it that evil upgrowth which we have come to connect vaguely with the term: a high in-

fantile mortality, a low level of education and industry, much intemperance, much sickness and invalidity, much immorality, much pauperism and destitution. These grave evils are the direct product of overcrowded insanitary dwellings. Every relieving-officer knows that the workhouse is mainly fed from certain clearly defined areas within his district, certain dilapidated streets and alleys teeming with human life, or maybe ill-constructed "model" dwellings, looking out on to narrow, sunless courts. Every school attendance-officer traces his defaulting children to the same localities, and it is from them in the main that our truant and industrial schools are recruited. Every Medical Officer of Health, when an epidemic breaks out, can put his finger on the spot where he will find the majority of its victims. Such streets and buildings gain an unenviable notoriety in the local police-court, they are shunned by respectable folk, they tend to become the haunts of the thief and the loafer, they form the black blots in any map of the city constructed on sociological lines. I do not say that bad housing is the sole cause of the plague-spots in our midst, but I do say emphatically that, as long as we allow men, women, and children to herd together without regard to comfort, hygiene or decency, religious and moral effort towards the betterment of the population is largely thrown away.

A few figures will help to demonstrate the grim reality of the evil. The population of Manchester and of Birmingham, taking the whole city, is 42.1 and 41.1 per acre respectively, while in a more residential borough such as Hampstead it falls to 36.1 per acre. But, if we take working-class districts alone, we find, as at York, 237, 246, and even 349 persons per acre.¹

At Manchester, in a working-class district, there are 141 person to the acre, while in one of its well-to-do suburbs there are only 15. In a notorious part of Paddington a special inquiry held in 1901 revealed the fact that the population was equal to 480 persons per acre.² If the

¹ "Poverty: A Study in Town Life," by B. S. Rowntree. Macmillan, 1s. net.

² Alden and Hayward. "Housing," page 51.

calculation is made in houses, not persons, per acre, we find that ten to twelve houses is all that is allowed in a garden suburb, whereas it is still feasible to build fifty or sixty houses to the acre in accordance with the by-laws.¹ Where back-to-back houses are still tolerated it is possible to accommodate even more.

This, however, is but part of the evil. There is the overcrowding due to tall houses overlooking narrow streets, and to a total absence of open spaces, and there is also the overcrowding in the industrial room or tenement. This is the special feature of the metropolitan working-class quarters. To those who work in the metropolis it is of melancholy interest to hear rural reformers arguing over the ever-recurrent question whether cottages should be built with two bedrooms or three when, in London, artisans and labourers, as a matter of course live, eat, and sleep in one or two rooms.

The English ideal of a *home*, however small, for each family has been largely lost sight of. Even four-roomed houses are let out in tenements. Tens of thousands of families still live in single-room homes, though the numbers are happily decreasing, and until recent years many lived in underground kitchens. According to the census of 1901, there were 149,524 single-room tenements in London, 17,000 of which were occupied by four or more persons.² In Finsbury, 14.3 per cent of the population live in single-room tenements, and 31.2 per cent live in two rooms. In a street in Southwark 800 persons were counted in thirty-six houses; and Mr Redmond has stated in the House of Commons that, in Dublin, there are no less than 21,747 families, or 36 per cent of the total population, living in single rooms.³

All the inevitable evils of overcrowding are accentuated by faults of construction: cheap jerry-building, inefficient by-laws, and indifference to the most elementary principles of health and hygiene. A familiar feature of congested

¹ Nettlefold, "Practical Housing," page 8.

² Alden and Hayward, "Housing," page 56.

³ E. E. Hayward, "Housing and Destitution," in "Progress," No. 25.

districts is back-to-back houses, effectually blocking free passage of air and, where the houses face north, hindering the entrance of any ray of beneficent sunshine. Larger houses, now used as tenements, were in most instances built for single families, with narrow staircases and sanitary conditions wholly inadequate to the numbers now accommodated. Not infrequently, where backyards of a fair size have existed, extra cottages of two or four rooms have been built up in them, with no through ventilation, no outlook, save on to the small remaining space, with its dust-bin, and wash-house, and unflushed drains, and no approach save through the house in front. Even buildings erected as tenements often display the most glaring faults of construction: dark and dangerous staircases, rooms into which no ray of sun can ever penetrate, no wash-houses, no playgrounds for the children, no upstairs water supply. In London water is laid on to every house, but in provincial towns even this boon is often denied to the poorer inhabitants, and every drop of water needed for household purposes may have to be fetched from a common pump some little distance away. When we add to all this the accumulated dirt and grime of years of smoke and damp, landlords indifferent to their tenants' well-being, and tenants recklessly careless of their landlord's property, sanitary authorities failing to fulfil their public duties, and owners of slum property sitting on town and borough councils in order to safeguard their own interests, we reach a condition of affairs which is a blot on the civilisation of any country. Unhappily it is a condition normally existent, in a more or less acute degree, in all our populous industrial centres.

How all this acts and reacts on the health and *morale* of the slum population has been emphasised by every scientific student of the problem. One of the most easily demonstrable effects is a high mortality. Dr Sykes, the well-known Medical Officer of Health for St Pancras, tells us that:

“Dr Anderson, the medical officer of Dundee, found in 1884 in that city that the mortality of dwellings in one room

was 21.4 per 1000, of two rooms 18.8, of three rooms 17.2, and of four rooms and upwards 12.3 per 1000."¹

Similar statistics for certain Continental cities give very similar results and show that :

"When the number of inmates per room increased from one to three, the death rate at all ages was doubled, and the death-rate under one year quadrupled."²

Taking individual diseases it is the mortality from phthisis that corresponds most closely with the degree of density of persons in each room. Everyone to-day knows that impure air, damp, and absence of sunshine provide favourable conditions for the development of the disease, and these are precisely the normal conditions in the dwellings of congested areas. Hence it is not surprising to learn that Sir Shirley Murphy has shown, in one of his annual reports, that the death-rate from phthisis increases *pari passu* with the increase in the proportion of the population living more than two in a room.

Lamentable as the effects of bad housing are on the adult population, the wage-earners of the family—and it must be remembered that, wherever there is a high death-rate, there is simultaneously a high rate of sickness and invalidity—the effect on the children is even worse. Physical health and moral stamina alike suffer. Many of our "work-shys" and unemployables were born and bred in insanitary slums with the gutter for a playground. Society holds them up to reprobation, but, in point of fact, Society never gave many of them the chance of being robust and capable citizens.

"Careful experience has demonstrated," writes Mr E. E. Hayward,³ "that children of the same age are both taller and heavier, when reared under proper housing conditions, than are those born in the slums. For example, recent comparison of children of fourteen years old, in Liverpool and Port-Sunlight respectively, revealed the fact that the former were, on the average, five inches shorter and thirteen pounds lighter than were the latter."

¹ "Public Health, Housing," page 26.

² *Ibid.*, 31.

³ "Housing and Destitution," in "Progress," No. 25.

If an investigation could be made of the homes of the sick children who throng the wards of the metropolitan workhouse-infirmaries and of Queen Mary's Hospital at Carshalton, as well as the numerous splendid institutions managed by the Metropolitan Asylums Board, it would probably be found that the vast majority come from certain notoriously congested areas, and that the ill-health which the public authorities are called upon to cure at enormous expense, is due to *causes which might and should be, preventable*. A little judicious town-planning might prove cheaper in the end!

It may perhaps be said—indeed it has frequently been asserted—that the state in which slum dwellings exist, their filth, their dilapidation, their verminous condition, are due not to the landlords, but to the tenants; that improvements are thrown away on them, that they are deliberately destructive, that they ignore the ordinary decencies of life.

“I have always found,” writes Mr J. S. Nettlefold,¹ “that it is those landlords who treat their tenants badly who complain most about them. . . . There are many housewives in the slums who are patient and uncomplaining heroines.”

If there are no conveniences for washing, no facilities for removing dust and rubbish, if wallpapers have been left unstripped and ceilings unwhitewashed for years, if every drop of water required has to be carried up four or five flights of stairs, is it surprising if certain slum homes are dirty and unkempt? What is true is that environment exerts a potent influence on character, that under drab and depressing surroundings even a decent woman tends to grow indifferent and finds it hard to take a “proper pride” in a home that can never do credit to the owner. As for the really worthless family, its demoralisation naturally advances apace when it finds itself in congenially low surroundings. Let us admit that the slum and the slum dweller act and react disastrously on one another. The fact affords but one more illustration of the intricate inter-

¹ “Practical Housing,” page 119.

dependence of cause and effect, characteristic of all social problems. When things have reached this *impasse*, we may already assert that the old *laissez-faire* policy, by which the housing of the working classes was left to private enterprise and to the ordinary laws of supply and demand, has proved a total and expensive failure, and that drastic measures of reform have become imperative.

What then are the essentials that we ought to aim at if the working classes are to live in dwellings which will fortify rather than destroy their Christian life? They may be summed up as follows:—

1. A cheerful self-contained home for each family, with at least three bedrooms in addition to the living room.
2. Water laid on to every house and to every floor of large buildings; adequate and decent sanitary conveniences.
3. No underground dwellings or workshops; no back-to-back houses or flats; no unventilated staircases.
4. A general level of cleanliness and good repair inside and out, maintained through frequent inspection by local authorities.
5. A garden-plot to every house where feasible; if not, a safe playground within easy reach for the children. This is even more essential in working-class neighbourhoods than the opening up of parks.

Finally such houses must be available at a rent that bears some reasonable proportion to the income of working-class families, *and this, perhaps is the crux of the whole problem.*

Anything less than the above is incompatible with the children's health, the decent up-bringing of boys and girls, and the measure of privacy without which there can be no real home life. It constitutes a minimum less than which ought not to be tolerated in any country which professes to have at heart the welfare of the poor. Happily the means of arriving at this minimum are in some measure at least within our reach.

Much has already been effected, towards removing these evils, by legislation, by administration and by voluntary effort; and much more might be done, even as the law stands to-day, if only the public conscience were duly roused. It

is the chill acquiescence in evil which is a more deadly hindrance to progress than deliberate opposition. So long as we remain content that slums should exist, it is certain they will not be swept away. Indeed no legislation, however excellent, will avail, so long as town and borough councils are too inert to use their powers, or so long as the possession of slum property is allowed to be a profitable investment.

For clearness sake the means at the disposal of housing reformers in great cities may be classified under three heads:

- (a) What can be done by local authorities.
- (b) What can be done by town-planning.
- (c) What can be done by voluntary effort.

Various laws affecting public health and housing have been enacted by Parliament within the last forty years, the first really effectual measure being the Housing Act of 1890—the outcome of the Report of the Royal Commission—with its amending Acts of 1900 and 1903. Under this Act—to deal only with its main features—three definite alternative policies were indicated. Briefly, under Part I., town and borough councils obtained powers to clear and rebuild slum areas scheduled as unhealthy and judged beyond repair. It was, for instance, under Part I., that the Corporation of Liverpool cleared the well-known Hornby Street area, when over 500 insanitary, back-to-back hovels were pulled down and replaced by healthy, well-planned tenement blocks, opening on to wide courts. So too the London County Council cleared 15 acres of slums in Bethnal Green, replacing them by 23 blocks of buildings, with wide streets and public gardens. At first sight, such a policy is highly attractive, but, as Mr Nettlefold points out, it entails very great drawbacks. It is so expensive as to be in great measure prohibitive; it focuses the attention of the municipal authorities on rebuilding, rather than on the inspection and supervision of slum property, and it puts a premium on insanitary houses, by giving the owner the chance of being bought out at a large profit to himself.

Part II., on the contrary, gives power to the local authori-

ties to order the closing of houses pronounced unhealthy by their sanitary inspectors, until the necessary repairs have been carried out *by the landlord*. In this way the house owner who allows his property to degenerate is penalised and made to bear the expense of putting it in order, and individual houses can be dealt with as effectually as whole streets. This is the policy that has been carried out with much success in Birmingham, and Mr Nettlefold calculates that, whereas the cost to the ratepayers of their action under Part II. has been 15s. per head of the population benefited, in Liverpool under Part I. it has been £56 per head. Undoubtedly if all town and borough councils took continuous and vigorous action under Part II., instead of ignoring their responsibilities, or allowing their efforts to be frustrated by the owners of slum property among their own members, the condition of many overcrowded areas might be vastly improved. Hence it is incumbent on all who have healthy housing at heart to co-operate actively in the return of the right sort of representatives to municipal bodies.

Under Part III. of the Act powers are conferred on local authorities for building houses wherever in their opinion a deficiency exists. Originally intended to provide for the erection of common lodging-houses, the Section has been widened by successive amending Acts to cover every sort of dwelling-house at the discretion of the authorities. The most active body in England under Part III. has been the L.C.C., which, in the last twenty years, has successfully carried through a number of extensive building schemes, both urban and suburban, housing in all a population not far short of 100,000. The building policy of the L.C.C., as is well known, is the subject of perpetual controversy, chiefly on financial grounds. Here we need only say that huge blocks of rather dreary municipal buildings, however preferable to insanitary houses, do not correspond to our ideal of the working man's home. They offer indeed the very antithesis to *the self-contained cottage with a garden-plot, which it is our aim to see brought within the reach of every family*. Moreover, in so far as these blocks perpetuate the agglomeration of the urban population on a

restricted area, accommodating as they do from 300 to 400 persons per acre, they militate against the policy of diffusing the population by the help of cheap and rapid municipal transit, in which lies our best hope for the future.

Many of the powers for dealing with insanitary houses, conferred on local authorities by earlier Acts, were amplified by Mr Burns' Housing and Town-planning Act of 1909, while the procedure in various important respects has been both shortened and simplified. Cellar dwellings may no longer be inhabited; back-to-back houses may not be erected, and any houses condemned as insanitary may be summarily closed. Moreover the outside public, as represented by "inhabitant householders," acquires powers of complaint to the Local Government Board wherever local authorities—as frequently occurs—neglect their duty as guardians of the public health. The whole intention of the Act has been to encourage housing activity, not only by facilitating the wiping out of slums that exist, but by preventing their creation in the future. From this point of view the town-planning clauses form the most progressive portion of the Act.

The first object of town-planning, which is being carried on in Germany on a far larger scale than here, is to hinder the erection of hideous rows of cheap jerry-built houses, such as disfigure the outskirts of so many of our cities. They have been run up by building speculators, in accordance indeed with by-laws that are often inadequate, but without any concern for the beauty or the convenience of the neighbourhood, or for the future developments of the city. Trees are ruthlessly cut down, views sacrificed and the largest possible number of houses crowded on to a given area. Many of these hastily built strings of houses degenerate within a few year into sordid slums. Often the district has been developed without any thought of the future need for main arteries with tram-lines leading out of growing towns, with the result that these can only be constructed after much delay and at great expense. At best the erections of the speculative builder remain an eyesore to all persons of taste, and their drab monotony seems

to imprint itself on the lives of the inhabitants. It was time indeed that something should be done to protect the town dweller from this wholesale disregard of his interests.

In future any land in course of development, or likely to be used for building purposes, may be purchased—in London by the London County Council, in other cities by Town Councils—either by agreement with the landlord, or compulsorily with the permission of the Local Government Board, and laid out in such a way as to secure “proper sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience” not only to the tenants themselves, but to the neighbourhood. Very much depends on how these words of the Act are construed in practice; but, on a moderate estimate, they will certainly include many things that the jerry-builder has been wont to overlook. As Alderman Thompson points out in his Handbook to the Act (page 28),

“Sunlight, fresh air and vegetation are now recognised as the trinity of necessities which form the basis of all sound sanitary conditions.”

while “amenity” would certainly authorise the retention of trees and hedges and the laying-out of gardens and playing-fields. Power is specifically given to limit the number of buildings to the acre, as well as their height and character. Town-planning will, of course, make due provision for the requirements of main road traffic, as well as for public buildings and, in brief, will deal with a district as a whole and with a view to the general requirements of the neighbourhood, instead of permitting building in the scrappy piecemeal fashion hitherto condoned.

It is not necessary in town-planning that the initiative should be taken by the local authorities. Indeed it is in many ways preferable that action should be entered on by the landowner or by a building society. What the Act will effect—what indeed it is effecting already—is to give a considerable impetus to the laying-out of garden-cities and suburbs, of which Bourneville and Letchworth and the many estates developed by Co-partnership Tenants, Limited, are the most successful examples. These in the

past have often been hampered, not only by the almost insuperable difficulty of obtaining land at a fair price, but by the unwillingness of local authorities to grant even reasonable concessions and by the lack of elasticity in the by-laws, which have often been imposed without any reference to the actual needs of suburban districts. Thus the comparatively high rents charged at Bourneville are mainly accounted for by the excessive sums that had to be spent on a particular type of roadway required by the local by-laws. These, when unreasonable, can now be revoked by the L.G.B. and great economies in estate development effected. People often fail to realise how seriously the building of working-class houses is impeded by ill-advised and inapplicable by-laws. Another important point is that societies hitherto have had much difficulty in raising capital for their schemes, whereas now, as Public Utility Societies, they can receive, under Part I. of the Act, two-thirds of the value of the property they hold from the Public Works Loans Commissioners. Various approved building societies are being financed in this way, and have been enabled in consequence largely to extend their operations.

Garden cities, designed and executed by public-spirited men such as Mr Cadbury and Mr Lever, supply exceptional methods of dealing with the housing problem, and are only rarely available. Happily similar advantages can be obtained, whether on a large or a small scale, by co-partnership house-building. Moreover, founded on the principle of mutual self-help, this method possesses valuable educative features and offers a perfectly safe investment for small savings. The movement has spread with remarkable rapidity in the last five years, and to-day, in various parts of the country, these co-partnership building societies are springing up, many of them being federated to Co-partnership Tenants, Limited. All the estates acquired by this society are developed on sound town-planning principles, with attractive small houses, specially designed to enjoy a maximum of sun and light, and each with its own garden-plot. Open spaces are laid

out in recreation-grounds, tennis-courts, etc., and enjoyed in common. The necessary capital is raised, partly by loan stock at 4 per cent, and partly by shares of £1 to £10 each, subscribed by the tenants and others, on which not more than 5 per cent dividends may be paid. The houses are let at the average rent current in the neighbourhood for similar accommodation, and any surplus profits over and above the amount required for management, repairs, etc., are divided among the tenants. In this way every householder becomes directly interested in the prosperity of the enterprise as a whole, both in helping to keep the houses let and in maintaining the amenities of the estate. The outcome is a healthy public opinion which bears the happiest moral and social results for the community. Indeed, the success of co-partnership housing from this point of view is as remarkable as from a financial standpoint.

In the opinion of those who advocate co-partnership housing, it offers the main practical alternative to municipal building. The two policies represent opposing attitudes of mind to social problems: the one confiding in individual initiative, the other in State intervention. Whatever may be said for municipal housing by its supporters, it can never be argued that the remedy is other than an expensive one, and, as we have seen, it tends to perpetuate a type of tenement building which is far from supplying an ideal home. Municipal building becomes a necessity, however, where the public conscience concerning housing continues to slumber, where insanitary areas continue to draw their yearly toll in disease and mortality, and where landowners are intent only on holding back their land until an enhanced price can be obtained for it. Where municipal action can intervene with effect is in supplying tramways with cheap fares to convey working men to and fro between their work and a garden suburb erected by co-partnership methods. If, in addition, we could have an equivalent in England to the extraordinarily cheap and convenient tickets issued to working men by the State railways in Belgium, we should have here, as there, a great impetus to the "back to the village" movement.

That surely should be the objective of any Catholic housing policy : to take men, women and children out of the crowded city and plant them in cheerful, healthy suburbs, where gardens and sunshine and unlimited fresh air are the portion of all. None the less, we know that at best many must remain in the town, and on their behalf we should support, with all our might, a strenuous local policy in favour of healthy homes, *one that will secure to the dweller in mean streets the full protection that the law intends him to have.* And even beyond this administrative minimum, individuals can co-operate in schemes for such things as the opening up of children's playgrounds, the laying-out of disused cemeteries as public gardens, or the throwing open of " square " gardens to the poorer inhabitants of the district. Many of these things can only be effected through voluntary gifts, and all are real boons to a poor neighbourhood. Finally, everything that can be done to brighten the lives of the slum dwellers, to educate them, to give them ideals above and beyond their sordid surroundings is helpful, not because these things supply palliatives to bad condition, but because they arouse a divine discontent with what is, which is the first step towards progress. Nevertheless the true policy is to attack this gigantic evil of insanitary housing openly and directly, and this task, thanks to recent legislation, is far less formidable than in past years.

CHAPTER III

HOUSING IN SMALL TOWNS AND IN RURAL DISTRICTS

"Nowadays, when we wish to speak of democracy or of the average citizen, we always talk of the 'man in the street'! Real democracies are conscious of the man in the field."

—G. K. CHESTERTON.

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT has referred somewhere to that "urbanisation of thought" in modern times, which is such a barrier to any clear realisation by the community of the importance of rural problems. One of the results of this obsession of public opinion by towns and town-conditions is the common idea that "housing" is a serious problem only in the working-class districts of our great cities. It is true that this idea is no longer entertained by any who have much acquaintance with either the condition of the typical English country village, or small town, or the general data of the housing problem in England. Some inkling of the scandalous manner in which the rural labourer is housed has reached even the columns of the political Press, and through these the "man in the street." Those who have sat on Royal Commissions, or the few readers of their Reports, have learnt that the lack of cottages, or their lack of repair, is not a little responsible for that "rural exodus" which so aggravates the overcrowding of the great towns. Also there are several excellent societies in existence for the purpose of discovering remedies for the bad state of things in the country. Yet the general public, even that tiny fraction of it that takes any real interest in "social reform," still thinks of the country as a place of pretty, ivy-grown cottages with beautiful gardens, and of the smaller towns as dull,

perhaps, but healthy and pleasant to live in. It has no idea that, for a large proportion of their inhabitants, *especially of those who live by manual labour*, the country and the smaller towns of Great Britain are places to get away from, as soon as may be, largely because they are not fit to live in! The insufficiency, the lack of repair, the scandalous lack of accommodation, of the working-class "homes" in many of our country districts are contributing potently towards that yearly drift of some 10,000 young men and women into the towns, and of an uncounted number from the smaller towns to the greater. For, where the villages are pretty, as they often are, their prettiness is not infrequently merely a mask for a state of things that is a disgrace to a civilised nation. Nor, indeed, are they by any means always pretty. Some of the mining villages in North Somerset or in Durham, many a village in Staffordshire or South Lancashire or the West Riding of Yorkshire, and "country suburbs" such as are found in Kent or in north-west Surrey, are hideous and dreary to look at, as well as shocking to the moral and the sanitary reformer. Nor can most of our smaller towns be more satisfactory to the artistic sense than they are from the point of view of health or of citizenship. Be that as it may, the housing conditions, of country and small towns alike, are certainly bad almost beyond belief.

From Devonshire and Somerset in the west to Essex and Norfolk in the east, and from Wiltshire and Hampshire in the south to the crofter districts of Inverness and Aberdeenshire in the north, there come the same complaints. Cottages are ill-designed, are ill-repaired and are very insufficient in numbers to supply the demand. Thus, in a mining parish of north Somerset, with a population of 2000, the Report of the Medical Officer of Health states that, out of 519 workmen's dwellings,

"eight have only one room up and one down, 256 have two up and two down,"

while

"quite a number that are called two bedroom houses are not really so, as the back-room has a 'lean-to' ceiling, and gives

only a cubic capacity of about 350 feet. I noticed some houses built back-to-back, which ought never to have been allowed."

Again

"there are a very large number of cottages of such miserable character that they must be detrimental to the moral and bodily health of the occupants. I was particularly struck by the want of attention to such matters as the provision of good rain-water chuting and down pipes, and good sills to the doors, the absence of which does so much to make the houses damp, and by the number of houses where the windows, especially in the living rooms, were so constructed that they could not be opened. . . ."

And

"I have made no comment on remediable defects such as bad drainage, defective closets, absence of ash-pits, etc. I found them in large numbers; some have evidently remained unabated for years, probably since the last inspection . . . six years ago. This state of things is common to the rest of the district."

Referring to the scarcity of cottages, he writes,

"I am of opinion that more houses are required. I was told that many young people wishing to marry, though at work in the parish, have to seek a dwelling outside, and this would seem to be correct, as in the older parts . . . I did not find a single habitable house void. I think that fifty houses could be put up with a certainty of their being occupied at once."

As to the moral results, they may be guessed from the following:—

"In one house . . . two adults and six children were sleeping in two small bedrooms. In another house . . . a man and wife, three lads of working age, a daughter shortly to be confined, and her husband were sleeping in a house with two small bedrooms. . . . In quite a number of instances I found grown-up lads and their sisters occupying the same bedroom, and I was assured that it was entirely owing to the impossibility of getting houses in those parts."

Now, let it be noted that, though the report on this one parish was specially published, owing to the efforts of the District Councillors who represented it, there is reason to

believe that it is not in a very different condition from the rest of the parishes in that district. For, in the first place, its findings are borne out by the Annual Reports of the Medical Officer of Health to the Somerset County Council: and in the second place, when the Labour Members of the Rural District Council in question urged that the fifty cottages, declared to be necessary, should be at once built by the Council, member after member rose to object to so many cottages being built for one parish, *on the ground that the same crying need for housing was to be found in almost every parish in the district!* Nor are these shocking conditions confined to north Somerset. In a recent Report of the Medical Officer of Health to a rural district in Essex, almost the same statements are to be found.

“Many cottages barely fit for human habitation . . . In every parish there is a want of cottages with three bedrooms, and in consequence of this overcrowding occasionally occurs, immorality is fostered, and infectious disease is spread. . . . In many parishes young people are being driven away because they wish to marry and cannot obtain a cottage in which to reside. . . . From fifty to sixty cottages required at once.”

So, too, from Shropshire we hear that,

“Many cottages are without through ventilation of any kind or rely for such on a single small window, which is usually fixed, and therefore useless for the purpose.”

From North Hants that,

“Dwellings seen by me [the Local Government Board Inspector] which in their present state are unfit for human habitation . . . Abandoned houses, falling, or fallen into decay, were observed in various parts of the district.”

From the Isle of Ely that,

“Bedrooms . . . are apt to be small and dark. . . . In one [cottage] all the space in the single bedroom was taken up by two beds, one of which, I was informed, was occupied by the father, mother, and an infant, the second by four other children.”

From the cathedral city of Worcester that,

“What used to be good old houses are now let out in

one-roomed tenements . . . the water supply is always inadequate. . . Some of the courts in the centre of the city . . . are so dark that no sun appears ever to reach them. In one small court . . . it was said that no family was free from tuberculosis in some form."

From the university town of Cambridge that,

"Very nearly one-half of the persons with whom our report [on over 2000 of the poorest houses] deals may be said to be living under conditions of crowding, and just about a quarter of the whole number live under conditions where the crowding begins to be serious."

Indeed, though we do not find, in the smaller towns, that especially distressing feature of not a few country parishes in East Anglia, in Wiltshire, in the west of England and in Scotland, *the deliberate pulling down of cottages, even where there is already a pressing need of more dwellings*, in order that men may give place to sheep, to pheasants, or to deer; yet, in many of the small towns, especially in those where, owing to the presence of some industry, or to local changes, the population has grown rapidly, are to be found often worse "slums" (in quality, though not in extent) than can be found in some of the most ill-housed of the great cities, such as Glasgow, or Leeds, or Salford, or Bristol. Back-to-back houses, absence of gardens, lack of proper ventilation and sunlight, deficiency of bedrooms, neglect of sanitary appliances, of damp courses and proper guttering, of stair rails, of even the most necessary repairs to the roof, the windows, or the doors: any or all of these defects may be found in abundance by any curious investigator in almost any small, rapidly growing provincial town. For such towns are really only overgrown villages and present in a proportionate intensity the evil conditions of village slums. Mining towns, like Treforest, or Unsworth, or Radstock; railway centres, like Ashford, or Rugby; pleasure resorts, or "country suburbs," like Swanage, or Whitby, or Camberley; cathedral or garrison towns, like Canterbury, Gloucester, Aldershot, Worcester, or Winchester; towns where recent industries have been established, like Basingstoke, or Shepton Mallet; all

these are suffering, on a large scale, from much the same "slum" conditions as prevail in the more neglected country villages, and require, also on a larger scale, much the same treatment. To towns like these the conditions of rural housing apply much more closely than those of the great cities.

What, then, are the main remedies to be applied to these clamant evils? They may conveniently be divided into two main heads, i.e. "repairing" and "building."

I. REPAIRING.—As has been wisely pointed out by Mr J. S. Nettlefold, public authorities and housing reformers have hitherto devoted insufficient attention to this subject. Yet the enforcement on the owner of cottages of his responsibility for maintaining them in decent repair and sanitation, is not only one of the most obvious of the duties of public bodies, but also one of the least expensive and the most effective. By such action the main cost of the reform falls directly upon those who have most profited by the abuse, not upon the general public which has perhaps suffered from it; and, in addition, the total gain of the community is represented on the moral and æsthetic sides, as well as on the economic. For every emphasis laid upon the responsibilities of ownership is a moral lesson to the body politic, in full accordance with Catholic teaching: a man may not exploit the poverty, or the weakness, of his neighbours simply to create "unearned increment" for his own enjoyment. It is to be feared that something of the neglect in enforcing the responsibilities of house owners have arisen from the presence of those same house owners (or their like) in the very District Councils who should have taken action. Be that as it may, certainly greater efforts should be made than heretofore to induce house owners, by private expostulation, by the authority of sanitary inspectors and of the District Councils they serve, *even, in case of obstinacy, by a little wise publicity*, to put and to maintain their cottages in repair. For it is better to save a beautiful old cottage, where possible, than to pull it down and erect an ugly brick box

in its place; and where, as in most rural districts, there is actual scarcity of cottages, *the old cottages will be needed, as well as any new ones that can be built*. While, as will be seen, many private owners cannot afford to build or to re-build, practically all can afford the slight repairs which are often (*especially at the inception of the evil*) all that are needed. But many, who can afford to keep their cottages in repair, will not do so until pressure of some sort is brought to bear upon them. As the law now stands, very great pressure indeed can be brought to bear on recalcitrant owners of house-property. The Housing and Town-planning Act of 1909 has greatly amended the Acts of 1890 and 1903 in this respect, and merits careful study.¹ Any four householders of a *district* are now able to set the law in motion and at least force a scandal into publicity, even if no immediate remedy can be applied; and *publicity is a very effective weapon against the owners of insanitary cottages*. But the setting in order of neglected property is not, and for a long time will not be, sufficient. For, not only will some obstinate owners of bad cottages close them, or pull them down, rather than expend the money necessary to repair them; but also some cottages *must* be pulled down as irremediable. And, in any case, *there are far too few cottages to supply the demand, and the demand is rapidly rising*.

II. BUILDING.—Now the means of supplying this growing demand are threefold: action must be taken simultaneously by public authorities, by “public utility societies,” and by private builders. It is most undesirable to foster one source of supply to the exclusion of the others: the need is greater than can be met from any one direction; all three agencies must be encouraged, urged on, if need be, compelled to take action.

1. *Public Authorities*.—County Councils and District Councils can now each build as many cottages as are needed to supply an urgent demand; and even the Parish

¹ See Annette Churton, the “Housing and Town-planning Act, 1909, as it affects rural districts.”

Councils can, if they will, take very effective action to compel the District Councils to build. Especially since the passing of the Housing and Town-Planning Act of 1909, the procedure has become much simpler and more effective than it used to be. It is true that still a considerable time must elapse between the public recognition of a deficiency of cottages and the actual building of such as are needed; constructive action by public authorities is (and should be) but rarely speedy. But it is well worth working for, although it is a slow method, if only as an encouragement and example to the other agencies. Nor are the common objections to such activity on the part of public authorities of much weight. The idea that the supplying of obvious necessities to decent livelihood for the poor by public authorities in "socialism" is absurd. The historical fact that public authorities owned land and buildings and built and let houses in the Middle Ages; the declaration of Pope Leo XIII. that,

"Those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage-earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be especially cared for and protected by Government;"

the powers of house-building entrusted by the legislature to public authorities in such undoubtedly Catholic countries as Belgium and Ireland; and the inclusion of public housing in the programmes of Christian democrats in Germany, France, and Italy, should allay any scruples on this point. As Mr G. K. Chesterton has said, "The great thirteenth century took for granted that common government as well as individual charity should build for the poor"; and modern Catholics need not hesitate to be as publicly active as their forefathers. Nor need the bogey of "expense to the ratepayers" be feared. If small towns like Bangor and East Grinstead and Rhyl and Wrotham, and rural districts, such as Malden and Sevenoaks and Thingoe and Westbury (to say nothing of the astonishing activity of the rural District Councils in Ireland), can build

cottages and *make them pay* as they have done, why should not other small towns and rural districts do the same? *It is only a question of intelligent and business-like management on the part of the public bodies concerned;* and those are qualities that the community has a right to demand from its elected representatives. Public authorities can easily provide cottages *without the addition of anything to the rates*, if they will only make a careful and intelligent use of the powers at their disposal.

2. *Public Utility Societies.*—In addition to the use of public bodies, there are the deliberate associations of citizens for purposes of mutual aid, or public service. These may conveniently be divided into co-operative societies, co-partnership societies, and semi-philanthropic private companies. *Co-operative housing*, in which the houses are built for the members of the society with money loaned by the society and *gradually repaid by the member until the house becomes his own*, is perhaps more suitable for large centres of population than for small towns and rural districts. For, though a small local co-operative society can borrow money from the Co-operative Wholesale Society for housing purposes at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the weekly, or monthly repayments, required from members tend to cause too heavy a drain on the wages current in provincial districts. Yet over 400 societies belonging to the Co-operative Union have invested a total sum of over £9,000,000 in building houses, so it is obvious that this method is not by any means impracticable. But a better method is the recently devised *Co-partnership Housing*. This avoids some difficulties of the ordinary co-operative building of privately owned houses. The houses built belong to the *Society*, not to the individual; And, though each member enjoys secure possession of his house, so long as he wishes and so long as he fulfils his obligations, yet he is not tied to any one spot by the fact that his savings are invested in one house. He pays rent (but no sinking-fund) to his Society, so long as he occupies one of its houses; but, if he wishes to migrate elsewhere, he can relinquish his tenancy without difficulty, *while still*

continuing to receive a moderate interest on the capital he has invested in his Society. There has, in the last ten years, been a rapid development of this method of housing. At first it was confined to the suburbs of great cities; then it spread to smaller towns, like Sevenoaks and Stoke-on-Trent and Guildford; now there has been formed a Rural Co-partnership Housing Association¹ for applying this method to the country districts. Co-partnership is a sound and wholesome principle and should be applied and encouraged by all housing reformers. *Semi-philanthropic Societies*, which confine their gains to a moderate interest on the capital invested (generally not more than 5 per cent) can also usefully be formed, wherever there is a difficulty in inducing the wage-earners themselves to combine. Such companies as the Guinness Trust, the Peabody Donation Fund, or the East End Dwellings Company, have long been known in the great towns and there is no reason why similar companies, on a smaller scale, should not be formed for small towns and country districts. Indeed, at least one such company is already in existence, The Kent Cottage Company, Ltd., which has built a little model village at Leigh, near Tonbridge. And "garden villages" of this kind might well be formed all over England.²

3. *Private Builders.*—As Mr Neffleford has pointed out "the operations of . . . [private] house-builders are at least ten times as large as those of all the philanthropists and local authorities put together, and must of necessity always be so." It is therefore of importance that the private builder of cottages should be encouraged (with all due safeguards, of course) to build as many as possible. Now the private builder is of two kinds: the landowner who builds cottages for the benefit of his estate, and the speculative builder, who builds cottages for the sake of business profit. Of these, the former already, in many instances, builds excellent cottages and lets them at a rate that cannot possibly be remunerative; while not a few of the worst cottages in existence are the result of the operations of the

¹ See the Bibliography for its address.

² Cf. the Appendix to this book, "A Catholic Colony."

speculative builder. But, though this contrast is common enough to create its general acceptance, it is by no means universally true. There are all too many instances of well-to-do landowners, sometimes even Catholic landowners,¹ whose indifference to the housing of their cottage tenants is notorious. Generally this indifference arises from that queer class-bias which really regards the poor as if they were a different race from the rich and "accustomed" to squalor and overcrowding. Sometimes, however, especially in the case of "new men," it is the result of real parsimoniousness. Moreover, even where the cottages are decent, there is often the intolerable tyranny of the "tied cottage," which leaves the agricultural labourer abjectly dependent on his employer, not only for his wages, but also for his home. But, though all landowner's should be induced both to improve their cottages and to take them out of their farmers' into their own control, yet it must be pointed out that *the supplying of cottages at "customary rents" by benevolent landlords is very largely responsible for the scarcity of cottages in the country districts.* For though it may, in the long run, be of advantage to a rich landowner to let his cottages at 1s. to 2s. a week; yet, seeing that it is not now possible to build good cottages for less than £300 a pair (and even that is becoming increasingly difficult), no rent of less than 3s. 6d. a week will give the ordinary business builder a fair return on his capital outlay and enable him to keep his cottages in proper repair. And, as the "customary rents" of certain cottages tend to depress the general level of cottage-rents in the district where they obtain, they tend thereby to discourage cottage-building. One of the first requisites, therefore, of rural housing reform is the abolition (as speedily as can be accomplished without undue hardship to present tenants) of "customary rents." If it be objected that the agricultural labourer cannot afford to pay an "economic rent" for his cottage, *that is only*

¹ It is but fair to say that *this* indifference is usually the result of stupidity, rather than of sheer self-interest; as in the case of the representative of a famous Catholic family, who refused to improve his tumbledown, two-bedroom cottages, on the plea that "They were good enough in my father's time and they are good enough for me!"

*tantamount to the admission that the agricultural labourer is not paid the living wage he has a right to expect.*¹ Rural housing like many other social problems, is fundamentally a question of wages, i.e. a question of justice to the poor. Until the labourer, in country districts and in small towns, is paid a living wage in return for his labour, he cannot afford to pay a rent that is remunerative to house-builders; that is to say, the main source of cottage-supply will remain obstructed. Pay him a living wage, in plain English, *distribute more justly the profits of industry*, and he will readily pay such a rent as will encourage the building of decent cottages. And when that primary instalment of justice has been attained, it will soon be found that public authorities, public utility societies, and private builders alike are ready and eager to supply the then *efficient* demand for cottages. But continue to support, by indifference, or by ignorant acceptance of fallacious arguments as to its "necessity," the intolerable "defrauding labourers of their wages" that is usual under modern commercialism, and there is no acceptable remedy for "slum conditions" in town and country discoverable.

¹On the right to a living wage, see Chapter II. of "Sweated Labour and the Trade Boards Act," No. II. of these "Catholic Studies in Social Reform." (King) 6d.

APPENDIX

A CATHOLIC COLONY¹

(A SUGGESTION)

OBJECT lessons and public exhibitions are very much in the air at the present time. We are increasingly learning as a community that principle which the Catholic Church has always practised in her worship, viz. that men are capable of learning and appreciating through the eye things that remain almost meaningless to them after the most eloquent verbal disquisitions. From the Kindergarten to the Aero Club the fact holds good.

If this is true of more or less material objects, such as a child's attainment of a vocabulary, or of the best method of flying, it is far more true of abstract principles, if those principles can but be translated into visible terms. A child, for example, finds considerable difficulty in understanding the idea of sin or virtue in the abstract, but none in appreciating the significance of a naughty boy or a kind uncle. And if a variety of these types can be made to pass before his vision, resembling one another only in their respective sins or virtues, he learns at last something, at any rate, of these almost indefinable things. This lesson is of very wide application. Let us consider it in one example.

The Catholic Church, we believe, is the mother of true civilisation and progress. Mr Charles Devas, in his admirable book² on the subject, shows how, under her auspices, and under these only, has the world gone forward on the lines that all except Anarchists are agreed lead towards perfection. The foundations have been laid in the family—the one social institution that is obviously divine; it is the family, and the family only, that can be the unit of healthy growth. Kingdoms, states, towns and villages on

¹ Reprinted, by permission, from the *Dublin Review*, April, 1910.

² "The Key to the World's Progress," Longmans.

the secular side; parishes, dioceses, religious orders and the Catholic Church herself on the sacred side—all these are stable or insecure proportionately as in one way or another they do or do not reproduce the family constitution in themselves, and maintain the actual domestic family in its true purity within their borders.

Now of these facts, and others like them—such as that the virtues which make a good Catholic and good citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven are identical with those virtues required for good earthly citizenship—Catholics are so confident that they are not afraid to challenge history on their behalf. Mr Devas's book abounds with examples of this thesis. *Ceteris paribus*, Catholics maintain that the "nursing Mother of Kings" is also the nursing Mother of kingdoms, and that the most happy, healthy and progressive earthly life is that which is lived in the light of Catholicism. But the difficulty is to persuade other people that this is so. Englishmen, as a class, owing to the persistent misrepresentations of school histories, are persuaded of the precise contrary. Catholicism stands to them for the principles of darkness, slavery and retrogression: Protestantism for light, liberty and learning. Certainly an astonishing number of unbiased authorities are hard at work at the present moment in the endeavour to teach them facts—Dr Gáirdner along the lines of history, Mr Chesterton along his own lines, Mr Belloc in politics and even Mr H. G. Wells in a kind of indirect and unwilling manner: but all this is not enough. People will not read history; they smile kindly at what they think Mr Chesterton's grimaces; and they dismiss Mr Wells as an impractical Socialist, and Mr Belloc as a Frenchman. What is required is some kind of a kindergarten, where our fellow-countrymen may be taught through the eye. "That is a Catholic man, but he has no gunpowder in his pocket. . . . That is a Catholic woman, but she is not a female Jesuit in disguise. . . . There is a priest, but he does not habitually tell lies."

Imagine, then, what good effects might follow, little by little, if it were possible to establish in England some moderate-sized exclusively Catholic colony, where real Catholics might be seen digging the fields, writing books, looking after sheep, and doing their duty beneath the eye of the sun. The religious houses in our midst are useless for this purpose, and, so too, to a large extent, are isolated private families; for both these sorts of institutions resent, and quite properly, the intrusions of the inquiring stranger. As individuals, families and religious orders, we are too much on the defensive, too insistent upon our necessary

privacy, and, above all, too much isolated, to afford the necessary object-lessons. What is really needed, if it were but possible, is some exclusively Catholic town or village—preferably the latter—planted right down in the middle of England, accessible to all, where it could be seen that Catholics can be devout and yet sensible, can be primarily occupied with the care of their souls, and yet make excellent citizens and proper Englishmen.

May I sketch out an imaginative picture to this effect, as it was recently sketched to me (for the idea is not my own)?

I see some great estate, situated within forty miles of London, in Kent, let us say, or Sussex—an estate of, perhaps, one thousand acres all told. It is rolling country, wooded in parts, but arable and pasture through most of its extent. In the centre of it, within a mile of a railway station, stands a newly built village, grouped about a green.

The houses are all excellently built, for the estate is owned by a Company, whose architect's sanction is necessary for the passing of all plans. They are of various sizes and scales, each having a garden at the back proportionate to its dignity—built at costs rising from £300 for the smaller cottages abutting on the green, up to £1000 or £1500 for the more stately buildings that stand apart, each in a private domain of two or three acres. These houses are held by their owners on various terms. Some are the property of their inhabitants; here are a couple built by business men who go up to town daily throughout the week. Some are held on leases of seven or fourteen years at a rental of from £20 to £40 per annum; and here live business men and artists who have more leisure and less means. Some are held by labourers, on a weekly or monthly tenancy. But the freehold in all cases is the property of the Company owning the estate.

Let us examine one such house, built at a cost of rather under £1000.

It is a delightful-looking place, with red-tiled roof and rough-cast walls, very strongly built, of two stories in height. It is entered by a spacious porch, with a seat on one side and a large cupboard for coats and hats. The porch gives upon a really fine living hall, beamed with stained deal, nearly thirty feet in length and fourteen in breadth. Opening out of this is a convenient study for the master of the house, and beyond, opening out of the inner hall, whence the staircase rises to the first floor, is a dining-room large enough to seat eight comfortably, communicating by a hatch with the kitchen beyond. Behind the kitchen, entered by a passage from the inner hall, is an excellent scullery, with a coal-cellar further on. Overhead

are five good bedrooms, two of them large enough for a married couple, a bathroom and a loft. There is nothing jerry-built about any of it; the water supply is excellent, laid on from the village; the details are well finished, including stone and tiled fire-places with copper hoods and long wide windows with small square panes; the whole place is lit by electric light and warmed by radiators. The rent, all told, including rates, taxes and water, amounts to £50 a year.

In the centre of the green, on either side of it, are the clubs and houses of refreshment. These, too, are owned by the Company, but their management is in the hands of Committees selected by the inhabitants of the village. The inns need no description, beyond saying that they are well ordered, since the bar-keepers are the servants of the Company. The clubs are on varying scales, furnished and provided with reading, recreation and dining-rooms proportionately to the subscriptions demanded of their members. A kind of small town hall adjoins them, in which the meetings of the directors of the Company are occasionally held, and public business transacted.

Behind the town hall and sheltered by it from the view of the village is the electric-light station and pumping-house, from which the whole village is supplied with light and water; a slaughter-house, conducted on the most modern German principles, and carefully protected by high walls from the eyes of prying children; a small gasworks to supply the power for the engines; and a motor-garage for the benefit of those who live in the £1500 houses. From here, too, runs a daily motor omnibus to convey passengers to the 9.15 a.m. train to London and to bring them from the 6.40 in the evening. The charge is 2d. per head for the two journeys.

At the upper end of the green I see an unusual sight. A great gateway rises here, with a porter's lodge on either side, surmounted by a stone figure in a niche. He who stands there looks out with a clean-shaven, keen, humorous face over the village beneath; he is dressed in a furred gown and wears a square cap upon his head: his left hand rests upon the handle of an executioner's axe. . . . He was once Chancellor of England, as well as the author of a work named *Utopia*. . . .

As I pass in through the gateway, greeted by a young man in the black dress of a lay brother, a great range of stone buildings, surrounded by a wall, comes into view. On the left are the schools—tall, handsome erections, built and arranged in accordance with the very last and final requirements of the Board of Education. Here children of

various grades can receive an excellent education, according to the means of their parents, from the ordinary elementary teaching insisted upon by the State, and imparted by trained lay teachers and certificated nuns, up to the standard given in those institutions known as "private" and "high" schools. The teaching of the boys is carried on entirely by Benedictine monks; and that of the girls by nuns. There is no accommodation for boarders; all the children are drawn from this exclusively Catholic village, and sleep in their parents' houses.

On the right-hand side of this gravelled space, a door in the wall, surmounted by the stone figure of our Lady, gives entrance to the convent, and a covered way leads from this, past the monastery gate, opposite the entrance through which we came, to the door of the girls' schools. The nuns here are of a well-known teaching order; and have their own chapel under their own roof. They have built their house on money advanced by the Company, and little by little are paying off the mortgage. They pay their way partly by their own endowments, partly by the fees for teaching—fees secured to them by the very existence of the village and the fact that all that live in it are Catholics. They have their own garden and grounds, held on a long lease from the Company and on special terms.

Immediately opposite the first entrance-gate there is a second—the gate proper of the monastery. As I pass through this I find myself in a square quadrangle, surrounded by cloisters. On one side is the refectory and kitchens, on another the libraries and common rooms, with the rows of cells above; on the third the Prior's lodging and the Guest House. The Guest House needs special treatment.

It has been found recently that many of even the most occupied Catholic laity welcome with marked enthusiasm any attempt to provide for them special opportunities for entering into short Retreats. If these opportunities are but given to them, they avail themselves of them eagerly, at least so far as to spend a week-end occasionally apart from the world. Houses of Retreat, therefore, have been opened in various parts of the world, more especially, I think, in Belgium, as well as by the Jesuits in England, in which these Retreats for men of all classes may be held. In this monastery we are considering a speciality is made of this kind of spiritual work, and, of the eighteen to twenty Fathers in residence, three or four devote themselves to it almost entirely. The Retreats held here are of various kinds. Some are for the working class only, beginning on the evening of Saturday and ending in time for the retreat-

ants to catch the last train back to London on Sunday night; others, lasting for the same length of time, are designed for clerks and young men in business; others, again, lasting from four days to eight, are intended for the leisured classes. The Guest House is as large and as carefully arranged as it is, with this special object in view; for it not only has to serve for retreatants, but provides also a series of rooms for those who simply wish to spend a little time alone occasionally. The accommodation, too, is of various grades—there are dormitories for those of small means, divided into cubicles; and there are a complete set of delightful bed-sitting-rooms for the more wealthy. There is a large common dining-hall, reading-rooms and a library. All this accommodation is necessary, for the Guest House is never empty; and on certain days of the year the village, too, is overcrowded with visitors and every room occupied, since the church, owing to its unique collection of relics of the English martyrs—its possession, let us say, of St Thomas' bones, Blessed Thomas More's head, rescued at last from the tomb in which it has lain so long, and a great jewel from the west—has become a shrine of popular pilgrimage, as was Glastonbury or Canterbury four hundred years ago. The convent also, on a smaller scale, supplies the same opportunities for women.

Finally, there is the church itself. This is a really magnificent building, built in honour of the English martyrs, and designed by an eminent architect in the English manner, as are all the monastic buildings. For one of the secondary objects of the whole establishment is to reassure Englishmen, and a type of architecture that reminds him of St Peter's or the Chiesa Nuova is not so likely to impress him with the compatibility of Great Britain and the Catholic religion as one more in accordance with the cathedrals and parish churches which he has come to consider peculiarly his own property. The dedication of the church, therefore, and its style of architecture, are what they are for this specific reason.

It is, then, a great monastic church, after the fashion of Durham, Gloucester or Downside. The monks' choir is completely enclosed; the screen is surmounted by the Rood, and at its foot is the nave and high altar of the Holy Cross. The north transept is occupied chiefly by the chapel of the relics, with its own custodian; and on this side and that are the altars, respectively of St Alban and St Thomas. The south transept is occupied entirely by a series of altars erected in honour of the recently canonised seminary priests and lay folk, martyred under Henry and Elizabeth. Eastward of the monks' choir stretches the long Lady Chapel,

over the altar of which presides "Our Lady of Aberdeen," regained at last from the continental town that has given her hospitality for so long; and at the entrance the wooden image venerated until the Reformation in the Dominican Church at Cambridge, on the site where Emmanuel College now stands.

The church itself is entered by the monks directly from the corridor uniting their cells above, and from the cloister below. The public doors open, one on to the fore-court of the schools, the other beyond the schools on to the public road. Mass, Vespers and Compline are sung solemnly each day; but it is hoped that when the foundation is raised to the dignity of an abbey, and the religious family increases, the whole of the Divine Office may be rendered in the same manner.

One noticeable feature of this house, however, is the great predominance of lay brothers. There are at least fourteen of them, besides a few secular servants. The reason is as follows:

It is one of the objects of this village to set an example to the country round, not only in piety but in ordinary life. It is, then, absolutely essential, placed as it is in a rural district, that farming, agriculture, bee-keeping and the like should be in a thoroughly prosperous condition. Certainly there are two or three tolerably sized farms on the estate, on which the majority of the labourers work; and work can also be had to some extent in the convent and monastery grounds; but in addition to all this, the system of small holdings is carefully nurtured, and two-thirds of the estate is given up to it.

But "small holdings" need more than their name to make them a success; and it is above all things necessary that Catholics should not be the first to fail. Accordingly the directors of the Company have been artful enough to invite the co-operation of a Benedictine foundation, whose members make a speciality of agriculture, and in which the proportion of lay brothers—whether drawn from Germany or certain parts of England—already trained in rural accomplishments was sufficiently large to make their agriculture practical. The advantages of this are seen at once in this village. Not only is there continually before the eyes of the inhabitants an admirably worked monastic farm, supplying all the vegetable and fruitarian needs of the monastery, as well as sending eggs to London; but there is, further, a body of expert advice always at their disposal, on the spot, and free of charge. It is a pleasant sight on spring evenings to observe the lay brother, as an oracle, holding forth on the site of a prospective asparagus bed, surrounded by

a little group of men. He gives them a hundred hints: he rebukes slovenliness when he finds it; he makes suggestions about manure, and predictions on the price of pigs eight months hence. Further, he is as capable of handling a spade as any of them; they have seen him, times again, spitting on his hands for a fresh grip on the plough handles; and they remember on more than one occasion when his advice was not taken how miniature disaster fell upon his complacent and obstinate inquirer.

Let us pass on to consider other details.

Home life here is a very pleasant thing. For there is entirely lacking that fruitful source of recrimination—religious differences. In practically every Catholic family in England there is one consideration always before the eyes of parents. Shall or shall not Jack be permitted to associate freely with Tommie? Tommie is a perfectly delightful boy, and his parents are charming people; but is it altogether good for Jack to pass so much of his time in a non-Catholic atmosphere in the present unformed state of his mind? What if he should fall in love a year or two hence with Tommie's sister, Jane? On the other hand, what is the child to do without companions? And what are companions without free intercourse? It must be remembered that here such questions do not even suggest themselves. Jack can spend the whole of a summer's day with Tommie or even with Jane; and if he does fall in love with her so much the better. And this is but a symbol of the whole religious situation; for as far as the eye can see there is not one Protestant chimney smoking. The Angelus that rings out three times daily falls upon none but reverent ears; the Corpus Christi procession finds every house decorated and every knee bent.

Consider, too, how even politics—that twin-enemy of peace—is tempered in this atmosphere. Home Rule may occasionally be debated in the village tap-room, and even the Budget, within limitations; but on the Education question, the King's Oath¹ and Socialism there is no room for debate. Even the village politics themselves can hardly rise to bitterness, since there can be no squabble as to where the Dissenting Chapel is to stand, or whether a cross or a pump is a more representative symbol of the village's true life. Both cross and pump can stand at once, and no objection will be raised. There will be jealousies, of course, and accusations of favouritism, and even a little gossip; but at least half the ordinary occasions of those sins will be absent, since here brethren dwell of one mind in one House.

¹ i.e. "The Royal Declaration" now happily abolished.—ED.

Consider, lastly, the financial possibilities of such a scheme.

An estate such as that which we have been considering could probably be purchased at some sum approximating to twenty thousand pounds. Advertising, building, road-making, draining and the rest may be estimated, all told, at about one hundred thousand more. Half of all this would be amply sufficient, at any rate, to make a considerable beginning. Now there are at least two ways in which this sum could be raised; the first, which we need not consider (since it would depend solely upon a special grace being given from Heaven) is that a Catholic capitalist should advance the entire sum required; the second is that a Company should be formed on sternly business lines, and the public invited to invest.

"On sternly business lines"—for the last thing that such a scheme must be is a philanthropical experiment. The affair must be a proper speculation; it must not even be a gamble. Such things have been done before, notably in the case of Letchworth, and, I believe, with sufficient success. After all, villages are founded on far more temporary hopes than these, round, for example, some central industry which cannot, in the nature of things, remain a gold mine for ever, and without the smallest unworldly motive to inspire the undertaking. And such undertakings have succeeded and paid their way.

The chief difficulty, to my mind, is the consideration as to who should take the first step. A Benedictine congregation would naturally hesitate to build a large priory and church, unless there were some guarantee that there should be neighbours who would sympathise with them; and, on the other side, Catholics would hesitate to risk their money and their comforts in such an enterprise unless there were a guarantee that some such religious institution should be founded in their midst. For, if the object is to reproduce Catholic life as it was five centuries ago in England, we must have both priory and village; if both secular and sacred are to walk hand in hand, sacred and secular must be there to do the walking. A way out of the dilemma might be found if a religious order would pledge itself to build such a priory in the event of the formation of a Company with the required capital: and if the Company were formed on the understanding that the religious order co-operated with them so soon as the capital was deposited in the bank.

But to descend to even more sordid details.

The manner in which such a scheme would be inaugurated would, it is suggested, be on the following lines:—

Inquiry should first be made of the contemplative Orders in England (preferably of the Benedictines, since rural life

and agriculture formed, at any rate originally, part of their activities), as to whether in the event of such a company being formed, they would consent to co-operate, and on what terms. If an encouraging answer were received, a number of private communications should then be made to Catholics of three or four distinct classes, the wealthy pious, the less wealthy enthusiastic, the rural experts, and the ecclesiastical authorities—inviting their opinions and criticisms, and laying before them the provisional consent of the Order to which application had been made. If, again, the answers were favourable, a definite scheme should be drawn up, a board of directors appointed, and finally a prospectus issued. If the public response were what, in all reason, it well might be, the Company would be incorporated, the estate decided upon and purchased, and the scheme launched. It is a solemn thought (if I may speak for an instant in the manner of popular appeals), that, if the calculations suggested are correct, only one hundred persons would be required each to invest five hundred pounds, to transform the financial part of this dream into reality.

Finally, then, is it not worth while to consider the possibility of all this? The activities of the Church in this country are certainly surprisingly widespread and efficient, considering the limited means at her disposal; but they do not yet include such an object-lesson as would be this Catholic village planted in a country in which once all villages were Catholic. If our religion is what we know it to be—the foster-mother of all healthy life, the friend of all labour and the presiding genius of all endeavour, however secular—it might surely with advantage be given an opportunity of showing what it could accomplish under such conditions as these. It is true that there are comparatively few Catholics in England who are utterly cut off from all religious sympathy, but what would it be for some of these to find themselves in that sympathy with all the inhabitants of the place where they lived? Such a foundation as this might surely do more for the souls that co-operated in it than all the education and even, I may say, all the literature and sermons in the world: for they would find here that there was no department of their life into which their religion might not enter naturally and freely; their whole lives would be lived under the shadow of the Faith, without the narrowing effects of always walking in armour, or the embittering effects of endless controversy; there would no longer be the necessity for confining walls on every side, for carefully guarded language and delicate walking, as of cats on glass walls; but God's light and air would be round

them, and, above all, God's grace sweetening without effort every action that they did. It is true that they would not escape, even in an exclusively Catholic village, the ancient assaults of the world, the flesh and the devil, for not even the Carmelite or the Carthusian can escape these things; there would be disasters, no doubt, scandals, quarrels, and even treacheries; there might even be evictions on a very painful scale; yet, at least, the Church would have an opportunity, under exceptionally favourable circumstances, of showing what she could do towards helping perfectly ordinary people, who are neither priests nor nuns, and who have no special aptitude for continual controversy or even philanthropy, to live perfectly ordinary lives as well as possible. There is already in England more than one practically Nonconformist colony of this kind—notably at Port Sunlight—it might be that one such enterprise as this, carried out by Catholics for Catholics, would be but the first of many. The movement might spread almost indefinitely, and a hundred years hence our children might see, scattered throughout almost every county in England, villages where nothing except the old Faith of England had ever been preached or practised—places that reproduced, under modern and, if necessary, even Radical conditions, that ancient life of five hundred years ago that has given England, in spite of herself, such sound civilisation as she possesses to-day, and the lack of which is sending France back into the barbarism from which she rose.

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THE CHURCH AND EUGENICS

By

THE REV. THOMAS J. GERRARD

AUTHOR OF

"MARRIAGE AND PARENTHOOD," "CORDS OF ADAM,"

"THE WAYFARER'S VISION," ETC.

LONDON

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Wise Man wrote, "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety,"¹ he presumably had in view a society wherein the fundamental principles of belief and conduct were not in dispute. Nowadays his assertion cannot be accepted without much qualification. In matters of purely temporal concern, it is doubtless prudent to hear every side before coming to a decision; but in matters affected by the unchanging moral law, the same prudence suggests recourse to whatever authority exists to preserve and interpret that law. Catholics believe that they have such an authority in the Church of Rome, and to the teaching of that Church they naturally turn when faced with any project of political or social reform which has a moral bearing. In the multitude of counsellors that beset them, safety, they feel, lies in following that one in whom the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom permanently abides.

The series of Manuals on Social Questions, of which the present volume is the fourth to appear, has been planned by the Catholic Social Guild with the express object of examining current problems of citizenship in the light of Christian principles, thus furnishing, for the benefit of those who are bewildered by the number and variety of the social panaceas proposed, some means of

¹ Prov. xi. 14.

distinguishing what is ethically sound from what is based upon false or distorted ideals. As has often been pointed out, it is no part of the Church's direct mission to originate or promote works of merely worldly utility. Her business is to teach the individual to observe the laws of justice towards God and man, and so secure his soul's salvation. She rejoices, of course, in the fact that their observance is also highly conducive to the well-being of the community, but that is not her first or chief care.

Hence it is that the Church claims, in the interest of her children, the right of criticising such measures of social betterment as are not entirely material in their scope and effect. Those who believe in her claims have no difficulty in accepting her decisions, for they know that the divine assistance, which guarantees the correctness of her final judgments on moral questions, operates also to prevent her judging on insufficient or unsafe grounds. Where principles of morality are not involved, or where their precise application is really doubtful, she is careful not to interfere with the liberty of her members.

In this series, then, it is proposed, after a sketch of the history of each question, to show in what points and in what degree Catholic doctrine is involved, what projects are, at least negatively, sound, what motives exist for energetic action, and what Catholic agencies are already at work. It will thus be abundantly clear that the Church, which played so prominent a part in social reform in the past, has a distinct and very salutary message for the present generation—a message which it is the duty of her faithful members to promulgate with all the zeal and energy in their power.

THE CHURCH AND EUGENICS

CHAPTER I

RISE AND SPREAD OF THE MOVEMENT

IN the modern eugenic movement there is much which is opposed to Catholic principles. But at the same time there is much in it which is in harmony with Catholic principles, and indeed highly conducive to the end for which the Church exists. It were therefore most unwise either to approve or condemn the movement without many distinctions and reservations.

The purpose of this Manual is to indicate briefly the chief elements of the movement and to offer such criticism as may help to form the judgment of the Catholic social student.

Although race culture has more or less been a factor of life ever since the world started, yet not until late in the nineteenth century did it begin to shape into a formal science. Sir Francis Galton is the man who is looked upon as the "Founder of Eugenics." He was born of a Birmingham family in 1822. By a relationship on his mother's side he was half first cousin to Charles Darwin. He studied for the medical profession, but independent means enabled him to devote himself to travel and to research rather than to professional

Galton's
Work.

practice. The appearance of Darwin's "Origin of Species" in 1859 led him to consider the application of its theories to the improvement of the human race. In 1865 he had written the following paragraph in an article in *Macmillan's Magazine*:—

"The power of man over animal life in producing whatever variations of form we please is enormously great. It would seem as though the physical structure of future generations was almost as plastic as clay under the control of the breeder's will. It is my desire to show more pointedly than, so far as I am aware, has been attempted before, that mental qualities are equally under control."

This was the germ of his theory. He developed it in the following works:—"Hereditary Genius" (1869), "English Men of Science" (1874), "Inquiries into Human Faculty" (1883), "Life History Album" (1884), "Record of Family Faculties" (1884), "Natural Inheritance" (1889). It was in the "Inquiries into Human Faculty" that he first used the word "eugenics," a word which he himself had coined.

In order to encourage the study of the science, Galton founded in 1904 a Research Fellowship and a Research Scholarship in conjunction with the University of London. He also, in consultation with the authorities of the same University, established a "Eugenics Laboratory." This is at present presided over by Professor Karl Pearson, who continues a special line of study started by Galton, the science of Biometry.

Through the influence of this work, together with that of the Moral Education League, there has arisen a "Eugenics Education Society," which has its own organ, the *Eugenics Review*. Speaking generally, the Laboratory collects facts and co-ordinates them, whilst the Society and the *Review* manufacture theories and carry on a propaganda.

Galton died on the 17th of January, 1911. His doctrines have spread with considerable rapidity, although his followers very much lament the slowness of the general public to embrace the new proposals. The truth is that many of the new proposals are opposed to the fundamental instincts

and laws of human nature. The British and American peoples are very jealous of their liberty and very suspicious of any movement which seeks to curtail that liberty. The slowness to welcome the eugenic movement *may* be due partly to ignorant prejudice. But it is also partly due to the instinct of self-preservation, and partly to a keen recognition of certain eugenist fallacies.

The writings, for instance, of Mr M. Crackenthorpe, K.C., Dr A. F. Tredgold, and Dr Rentoul, are quite sufficient to give pause to any reasonable person. They are far too ready to impose what they call Restrictive Eugenics on certain classes of persons whom they deem to be "unfit" members of society. Professor Karl Pearson, however, is more alive to the danger of propounding theories and passing legislation before sufficient evidence has been accumulated.

Other
Prominent
Eugenists.

Amongst those who are doing most to popularise the eugenics movement is Dr C. W. Saleeby. He has been shrewd enough to observe the inhuman tendencies of some of the more radical eugenists and his work marks a distinct change for the better. It takes into account the personal dignity and the spiritual nature of man. It is, however, overweighted with an exaggerated and discredited theory of evolution.

Dr Inge, the Anglican Dean of St Paul's, professes to bring the influence of Christianity to bear on the subject. He advocates voluntary small families.¹ And this neo-Malthusian proposal will be sufficient to indicate what right *he* has to speak for Christianity.

The latest indications of the vitality of the eugenic movement seem to show that it is going to be very active in the immediate future. The First International Congress is to be held in London at the end of July. The following programme shows the scope of its operations:—

1. *The Bearing upon Eugenics of Biological Research.*—*Papers:* Dr Raymond Pearl (Director of the Maine Agricultural Station), "The Inheritance of Fecundity"; Professor

¹ *Eugenics Review*, April, 1909, page 30.

R. Punnett (Professor of Biology, Cambridge), "Eugenics and Genetics"; Dr David F. Weeks (Superintendent of the New Jersey State Village for Epileptics), "The Inheritance of Epilepsy"; Professor Giuseppe Sergi (Professor of Anthropology, the University of Rome), "Heredity and Mutability in Human Races"; Professor E. Morselli (Professor of Psychiatry, University of Genoa), "Persistence and Variation of Racial Characters, particularly with regard to Ethnical Psychology"; Professor V. Gruffridi-Ruggeri (Professor of Anthropology, University of Naples), "The so-called Laws of Heredity in Man." *Discussion*: Professor W. Bateson, Professor J. Arthur Thomson, Dr Archdall Reid.

2. *The Bearing upon Eugenics of Sociological and Historical Research.*—*Papers*: Dr Corrado Gini (Professor of Statistics, University of Cagliari), "The Problem of Eugenics from the Democratic Point of View"; Dr F. A. Woods (Harvard Medical School), "Some Inter-relations between Eugenics and Historical Research"; Mrs C. D. Whetham and W. C. D. Whetham, F.R.S., "Race as a Factor in History"; Dr Ignacio Valenti y Vivo (Professor of Medicine and Toxicology, University of Barcelona), "A Healthy Sane Family showing Longevity in Catalonia."

3. *The Bearing upon Eugenics of Legislation and Social Customs.*—*Papers*: Dr C. B. Davenport (Superintendent American Eugenics Record Office), "Marriage Laws and Customs"; Professor J. L. Kellogg (Professor of Entomology, Stanford University), "Eugenics and Militarism"; Professor D. Starr Jordan (Professor, Leland Stanford University; President American Eugenics Section), "War and National Welfare"; Professor Alfredo Niceforo (Professor of Statistics, University of Naples), "The cause of the Inferiority of Physical and Mental Characters in the lower social classes"; Professor A. Loria (Professor of Political Economy, University of Turin), "The Physio-Psychological Aristocracy and the Social Aristocracy"; Monsieur Lucien March (Superintendent of the Bureau of the Statistique Générale de la France), "The Fertility of Marriages, according to profession and social class"; Fräulein Dr Agnes Bluhm (Berlin), "Race Hygiene and Midwifery." *Discussion*: Sir John Macdonnell, C.B., LL.D.

4. *Consideration of the Practical Applications of Eugenic Principles.*—*Papers*: Sir William Osler, M.D., F.R.S. (Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford), "Eugenics and the Medical Profession"; Mr Bleacher van Wagenen (Chairman of the Sterilisation Committee American Breeders Association), "Report of Recent Investigations as to the effects and

practicability of Sterilisation"; Dr H. E. Jordan (Professor of Anatomy, University of Virginia), "The Place of Eugenics in the Medical Curriculum"; Dr F. C. S. Schiller, "Practical Applications of Eugenics to Education"; Dr A. Plöetz (President of the International Society for Race Hygiene, Germany), "The Bearing of Neo-Malthusianism on Eugenics"; Dr Pinard. Dr Louis Quinton (Belgium), "The Practical Organisation of Eugenic Action"; Dr J. Mjörn (Norway), "Recent Eugenic Legislation in Norway." *Discussion*: Professor Sadler; Dr Murray Leslie, Dr Saleeby.

Next, a sum of £20,000 has been given anonymously for the endowment of a chair of "genetics" at the University of Cambridge.

Lastly, there are at present two Bills before the British Parliament, one introduced by a private member, the other by the Government, for the control of the Feeble-minded. The private Bill has little chance of passing through, but the Government Bill will probably pass, though it is to be hoped with serious and much-needed modifications. It contains some excellent provisions for dealing with this urgent problem, but also some that are undesirable, and it lacks sufficient safeguards for individual liberty.

In America the movement is promoted by the Eugenics Section of the American Breeders Association, and an institution corresponding somewhat with the Galton Laboratory exists under the name of the "Eugenics Record Office." The States of Indiana and Connecticut have each enacted a law for sterilising the insane by surgical operation. These enactments, however, although they have been associated with the eugenic movement, belong rather to a school of penal jurisprudence. The jurists maintain that there are certain classes of criminals who can neither be cured nor deterred by any form of punishment. The criminals in question are differently constituted from the rest of mankind, and the only way in which they can be prevented from doing injury to the race is by segregation and sterilisation.

The student to whom this school of jurisprudence is most indebted is the Italian army doctor, Cesare Lombroso. By

a long series of investigations amongst the Italian criminal classes he professed to have found abnormal structure in brain, face, and skeleton which showed that many of the criminals were allied with degenerate stocks which had disappeared from civilised society. Others he pointed out who had a family history indicating epilepsy, hysteria, insanity and alcoholism. Crime, therefore, in these cases became a question of nerve structure rather than of bad will.

In Switzerland surgery has been practised on patients discharged from the lunatic asylums, but only with the consent of themselves and their friends.

These are some indications of the logical issues of eugenist principles when pursued without reference to considerations suggested by Christian belief. Their bearing on morality will be estimated later.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES, NON-CATHOLIC AND CATHOLIC

"EUGENICS" means good breeding. As a science it is defined by the Eugenics Education Society to be "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally." The analogy of the racehorse is freely used to illustrate the end proposed and the means of attaining it. Just as the animal can be improved by attention to heredity and environment so also can man be improved.

Clearly such a proposal overshadows every phase of human activity. Sir Francis Galton indeed can scarcely have realised the magnitude of his task. Nevertheless some activities of life do bear more particularly and more directly than others on the improvement or deterioration of the human race. Thus biology is given the place of first importance, for that is the science which deals with heredity and selection. Anthropology is brought into requisition as throwing light on questions of race and the institution of marriage. Politics in its broader sense is studied as a way of learning the relationship between parenthood and civic worth. Ethics is given a place as being useful for improving social quality. Then, lastly, religion is brought in and assigned the function of strengthening and sanctifying the sense of eugenic duty.

With the aid of the foregoing factors it is proposed to decide what are the evils which hinder race betterment and what are the perfections which promote it. Thus eugenics fall into two divisions, negative and positive.

Negative eugenics are taken first because they are more tangible. The ideal which the eugenist aims at is somewhat ill-defined. But he has no difficulty in seeing that there are certain classes of the community which somehow are undesirable. Whatever be the final end of man it is clearly his duty to eliminate from his race, if possible, such evils as alcoholism, feeble-mindedness, hereditary disease, and what is practically the same thing, hereditary predisposition to disease, as in the case of tuberculosis.

The Mendelian laws are found to play an important rôle in the strengthening of good qualities and in the

The elimination of weak qualities. The Mendelian
Theories of laws are so called from the Abbot Mendel,

Abbot an Augustinian priest of Silesia, in Austria.

Mendel. Although he himself was probably unaware of the science of eugenics as it is now known, yet his work must be counted as one of the most important factors of the movement. He was born, like Galton, in 1822 and died in 1884. Being the son of a farmer, he had from childhood possessed the taste and opportunity for the botanical studies which afterwards made him famous.

By experimenting in the cross fertilisation of plants, Mendel discovered two great laws of heredity. His chief experiments were with peas. Taking two races, the tall and the dwarf, he found that the first generation of hybrids were all tall. But when these hybrids in their turn were sown, the resulting plants were mixed, some being tall and some dwarfs; and they were mixed in definite proportions, three tall specimens for every one dwarf. To the quality which appears in the children of the first parents is given the name of "dominant," whilst to the quality which disappears in the children but which reappears in the grandchildren is given the name of "recessive." The first law then is this: when two races, possessing two antagonistic peculiarities, are crossed, the hybrid exhibits only one, and as regards this character the hybrid is indistinguishable from its parent. There are no intermediate conditions. The second law is that in the formation of the pollen or egg-cell the two antagonistic peculiarities are

segregated, so that each ripe germ-cell carries either one or other of these peculiarities, but not both.

Professor Bateson of Cambridge is the man who in England is doing most to continue research on the lines laid down by Mendel. It is sought to apply Mendelianism to the improvement of the human race. The dominant and recessive qualities in man are, in their respective proportions, reproduced. A weakness, for instance, may not be fully inherited, but at least the tendency to it is inherited, and the evil may develop in a favourable environment.

Negative eugenics, therefore, falls into two sub-divisions. When a person is afflicted with one of the recognised racial evils he must be discouraged from propagating his kind; or when a child is born with a tendency to a racial evil it must be kept away from the environment favourable to the development of the evil.

Rejection however involves selection. If negative eugenics seeks to prevent the wrong people from being born, positive eugenics seeks to ensure the right people being born. Then the question presents itself: right people for what? And the most definite answer yet given by the eugenicist is "civic worth." For any part of civic usefulness there is wanted good health, a certain amount of energy, a well-balanced brain and good moral training. But even with this minimum of definition the eugenicist acknowledges that positive eugenics is less practicable than negative eugenics. This did not however deter Galton from making definite proposals. Whilst an undergraduate at Cambridge he had noticed that distinguished scholars and mathematicians belonged, as a rule, to families having other members similarly distinguished. Later he emphasised the point by an inquiry into the family histories of Fellows of the Royal Society. Then he studied representative classes such as philosophers, artists, financiers and soldiers. Within each group he would compare the qualities which made the group flourish with the qualities which made it decay. His conclusion was that the chief among the causes of civic prosperity was a large capacity for labour—mental,

**Galton's
Proposals.**

bodily, or both—combined with eagerness for it. To encourage this¹ and other qualities which he named, he proposed that a suitable authority should issue eugenic certificates. These should imply more than an average share of goodness of constitution, of physique, and of mental capacity.

The great objection to these proposals was that the race would become unbalanced, the excessively good and strong at the top, and the great majority, excessively bad or weak, at the bottom. To this Galton replied with what he called “the law of regression towards mediocrity.” The members of the lower stratum of society would, he said, frequently produce offspring superior to themselves. Some of their offspring might be as bad as themselves or perhaps even worse. But on the whole it would be better. And the same thing would happen in the next generation, and again in the next until the standard of mediocrity had been reached. Assuming this law to be true there was some plausibility in his demand for a change in the relative fertility of the two stocks. Both would raise the average.

From the foregoing observations it is evident that the predominant aim of Galton was the production of animal or physical fitness. He did not of course exclude mental and moral fitness, but these—especially the moral—would seem of less immediate urgency than the physical.

Dr Saleeby makes a great advance on Galton. He strikes a new note in eugenics with his doctrine of **Dr Saleeby** maternalism.¹ It is not one that a Catholic **and** can accept in its entirety, but on the whole it **Maternal-** is a marked departure from the early eugenicist **ism.** towards the Catholic ideal. He insists on the dignity of motherhood. As a leading motive he takes Ruskin's maxim: “There is no wealth but life.” Hence, since life begins at home, the true “politics” is “domestics.” He carries on an incessant war against all those writers and economists who are in favour of permitting infant mortality. Once the life is in being it ought

¹ “Parenthood and Race Culture,” by C. W. Saleeby, Chap. ix.

to continue in being. To deny this is to be immoral and to work against the eugenic end. He would prevent the unfit from coming into existence, but once they are in existence we must make the best of them.

In order to produce the wealth of life it is needful to study what he calls survival-values, those qualities which enable the individual to struggle and to live against adverse circumstances. And he concludes, and rightly concludes, that it is the psychical element in man rather than the physical which has the best survival value. This psychical element moreover is not merely intelligence but also love.

"Without love no baby could live for twenty-four hours. Every human being that exists or has existed or ever will exist is a product of mother-love or foster-mother love. No morals, no man."

Thus does he probe his way through an abundant mass of overgrowth which has covered the real root of the problem.

"With all deference to Mr Galton" (he writes) "I am inclined to think that a cardinal requisite for a mother is love of children. . . . The woman who does not think the possession of a baby a sufficient prize is no fit object, I should say, for any other kind of bribe or lure."

The same principle, too, throws a brilliant light on our politics.

"There is no wealth but life: and if the quality of the life fails, neither battleships nor libraries nor symphonies nor anything else will save a nation. Empires and civilisations have fallen despite the strength and magnitude of the superstructure, because the foundations decayed: the bigger and heavier the superstructure the less could it survive their failure."

It also serves to show up the destructive teaching of Mr G. B. Shaw. This writer, counting his readers by hundreds of thousands, can say:

"What we need is freedom for people who have never seen each other before and never intend to see one another again, to produce children under certain definite public conditions, without loss of honour."

This is a complete return to the life of the beast, and the

plea is characteristic. Mr Shaw is brutal and fearless in all his rebellions. It is well, however, for us to know exactly what the goal is to which one tends when one turns away from the spiritual ideal. It is sheer animalism. We welcome, then, the advance of Saleeby in respect to Galton even as we do that of Galton in respect to Shaw. Scientific race culture demands, at least, that instinct shall be ministrant to intelligence, and intelligence ministrant to love.

It was inevitable in such a movement that Nietzsche's catchword "superman" should figure largely. I say

The catchword deliberately, for there is no definite idea behind it. In Nietzsche's perturbed Superman. mind it meant only something which was other than man, a lawless being considered to be above man simply because it should be lawless. Mr Shaw's "Superman" is not that of Nietzsche. It is too definite.

However, as I say, the eugenist has yielded to the temptation.

"We might call the race of supermen" (writes Mr M. A. Mügge) "'the Hyperteroi'—γενεῇ ὑπέρτεροι—higher by birth, nobler; for only through a selective birth-rate does the perfecting of the race become possible."¹

Nietzsche is claimed to have founded a eugenic religion, a valuable ally of the eugenic science. The superman, it is said, cannot be produced merely by anthropometric measurements, statistical observations, human experiments in test of Mendel's laws, and biological legislation. These things are not sufficient to direct man's will and action. There is need of a sentimental artistic factor, and this is provided by the unknown quantity represented by the word "Superman"—that is the centre and aim of eugenic religion.

The goal proposed by Nietzsche might well be allowed to take care of itself. Every sane-minded person perceives that "superman" means either super-beast or imbecile. Super-beast indeed, not in the sense of being something higher than beast, but rather in being supereminently

¹ *Eugenics Review*, October, 1909, page 184.

bestly. The danger is in the means which are proposed in order to arrive at the "superman." This is simply the ignoring of all law and convention. When the lower nature of man chafes against law, the proposal which bids him be above all law is both attractive and flattering. He who is slave to his passions is likely to become more and more enslaved, as soon as he has admitted to himself that indulgence is the same thing as freedom.

The introduction of the Nietzschean idea proves the want of a religious factor for the promotion of race culture. But "a sentimental artistic factor," which is all that is claimed for the Nietzschean idea, will not supply the want.

Nor has the Anglican Church anything very definite to offer instead. The Very Rev. W. R. Inge, D.D.,¹ and the Rev. J. H. F. Peile² have ventured to speak on its behalf. Mr Peile apologises for the Anglican clergy not taking an active part in the eugenic movement on the grounds that they have not sufficient knowledge of the details of the science, and that in so far as they have any definite views upon the matter the opposition of public opinion deters them from giving expression to such views.

Dean Inge is more courageous and also a little more definite. He faces the fact that physical, intellectual, and moral excellence have each an independent and positive value, and admits that these values are not equal; intellectual excellence having a higher worth than physical, and moral than intellectual. He even goes so far as to hint that there is a *religious* element in man over and above the moral. But then he would not allow even the moral factor to have complete sway over the intellectual and physical.

"We can only defer to the moralist so far as to place virtue above brains and brawn; we cannot allow him to have everything his own way. We certainly do not want a society so plethoric in altruistic virtue, and so lean in other goods, that every citizen wishes for nothing better than to be a sick-nurse to somebody else."

¹ *Eugenics Review*, April, 1909.

² *Eugenics Review*, October, 1909.

The aim of Christian ethics is declared to be the production of—

“‘the perfect man’; a man full-grown, complete and entire; spirit, soul, and body altogether without blame. These are eternal values. They involve a drastic revaluation of all the good things of life. They lead us to the conclusion that any sacrifices which a good man would make for the good of his kind ought, when the time comes, to be exacted from those who are not good.”

If the foregoing statement means anything at all it means that religion (or religious ethics) is to be the handmaid of eugenics. The religious ideal is to be subordinated to the eugenic ideal. Nothing else can be implied by the Dean's statement concerning celibacy and virginity. He expresses his astonishment that—

“We do not think it wicked to encourage a beautiful and glorious specimen of womanhood to become a nun or sister of mercy, with vows of perpetual virginity. Here, surely, is a case in which the Eugenics Education Society ought to have something to say. A man or woman belonging to a good stock ought to be told by public opinion that it is a duty to society for him or her to marry and have children.”¹

The truth is that eugenicists, from Sir Francis Galton to Dean Inge, have been carried away by the initial racehorse analogy and borne on to the wrong track. The illustration of breeding for points is not one that is applicable to a being with a spiritual nature. Hence we find instead of a sleek steed nothing but a hobby limping all along the line. First a fine physique and constitution is asked for. Then it appears that a worthy citizen must be intelligent. But for an intelligent and muscular citizen a mother's love is wanted. Yet none of these is possible without an emotional and artistic stimulant. Nay, they must be sanctioned by religious ethics. Whatever factor is introduced it must be directed towards the improvement of the breed, and breed signifies in the mind of the average eugenicist either the animal horse or the animal man.

¹ *Eugenics Review*, April, 1909.

Let us try another ideal and see how it fits the case of man's nature. The physical element in man must always be subordinate to the psychic and the psychic to the spiritual.

**The
Catholic
Ideal.**

By the word "physical" I mean the same as "animal." It denotes those functions of man which are merely vegetative and sensitive in their operation, such as the circulation of the blood, digestion of food, sight, hearing, touch, imagination, and emotion. By the "psychic" I mean the operations of intelligence and will in the strictly natural sphere. The "psychic" man is the man, together with all his natural functions and powers, considered apart from their relation to grace and revelation. The "spiritual" man is the same man duly informed with the truths of faith and ennobled by grace.

But revelation and grace are from their very nature helps towards a higher and other life than this. Revelation indeed makes clearly known the nature of that other life, assures man that he is destined to it, and that he is provided with all necessary help to enable him to attain it. Any proposal therefore for the improvement of the human species which does not take these facts into account must be regarded as so far unscientific. So we are compelled to reverse the eugenic ideal. The final end of man is not civic worth. That is but a means to the end. The end is another world, and this world is but a preparation for it.

From the gospel times until now there has been a tendency to use the claims of the Other-world to the detriment of the claims of the This-world. But sound Catholic philosophy has ever insisted on the right use of this world as a means of attaining the next. Fine physique, good digestion, clear eye, keen intellect and indomitable will are gifts of God and are given precisely to enable man, under the influence of grace, to develop his spiritual nature. Only in so far as these things hinder that development must they be restrained. But, normally speaking, their full perfection pertains and tends to the full perfection of the spirit. That was the condition in which they were made at the beginning, and that at least will be the condition to which

they will be brought when at the end they shall be glorified. Because, then, all man's functions, powers and environment are ordained to so sublime an end, therefore they all acquire a dignity and an importance far higher than if man aimed merely at civic worth, and much more so than if he subordinated religion and morals to civic worth. We have to seek first the kingdom of the spirit and then all the riches of the psychic and physical kingdoms are added unto us to aid us in our quest.

CHAPTER III

RACIAL DISEASES AND EUGENIST REMEDIES

IN the light of the respective ideals just sketched we may venture to examine some of the practical measures of eugenic reform. Negative eugenics is concerned with the elimination of racial poisons.

These racial poisons are evils which we all deplore. A racial poison is defined as one that injures not only the individual who takes it, but also the race of which he is in some sense a trustee. It is not an inherent defect of nature, as feeble-mindedness is said to be, nor yet an acquired mental proclivity such as criminality. It is a substance which is introduced into the blood, and with the blood is transmitted from parent to offspring. There are three chief racial poisons, namely alcohol, lead, and the germ of venereal disease. All three tend to destroy the reproductive powers. All are causes of a terrible amount of infant mortality. And wherever infant mortality is increased by these causes there is always a large proportion of children who survive as defectives.

Racial Poisons.

Many remedies have been suggested. The first is systematic instruction as to the nature of the poisons. Every facility is to be given for treatment when the poison has been introduced into the system. Laws must be enacted for those who are affected. The whole of our licensing legislation, our factory laws, the laws dealing with overcrowding and the provision of workmen's dwellings, all bear on the subject. So far, the work of healing is easy, the duty obvious, and there can be no clash of ideals. But so far the work of healing is hardly anything more than an alleviation of symptoms, a radical cure is unattempted.

And the eugenicist, above all things, professes to deal with the very fountains of good and evil. Eventually the question of racial poisons harks back to the one of selection in marriage. How can public opinion, private judgment, and legislation be brought into operation so as to prevent those people from marrying who are likely to transmit the poisons? The remedies of segregation and sterilisation have been proposed. As to how far these are right and good we shall speak later. Whilst allowing full value to the remedies of segregation for inebriates and diseased subjects, whilst giving all encouragement to legislation for the protection of the workman, the Church sees in these things but temporary palliatives. With true eugenic instinct she goes to the source of the poisons. The only real preventative of alcohol poisoning is the cardinal virtue of temperance. The only real preventative of venereal disease is the angelic virtue of purity. The only real preventative of lead-poisoning is the rightly informed and rightly trained conscience of the employer. Not for one moment would we relax or undervalue legislative forces in these matters. But mere police regulations are only fit for degenerates. The perfect man, perfect both in his God-given nature and God-given supernature, needs the higher intellectual light of revelation, and the higher volitional energy of grace.

No method of race cultivation is worthy of attention which does not take account of that great hindrance to racial development, the "White Scourge." **Consumption.** Consumption is not considered a racial poison in the same sense as alcohol and white lead. Although it is doubtful whether the disease itself is hereditary, there is no doubt that the predispositions to the disease are hereditary. But, after all, these are details of the question which do not concern us here. There are two broad facts which need immediate emphasis. The first is that the most excellent means of combating the disease is the propagation of the doctrine of fresh air. The second is that in our churches we have a magnificent opportunity of spreading this gospel.

It is worthy of remark that the provision of open-air sanatoria within reach of the working classes is a conspicuous feature of the Government's social legislation. It may be found necessary by future Governments to insist on the campaign against consumption being furthered by due attention to ventilation in all places of public resort, and it is obviously fitting that the Catholic Church, which alone of all forms of Christianity insists on her members assembling for public worship under pain of sin, should be conspicuous in her regard for their bodily health as well. We cannot yet claim that she is so, but the blame for unhygienic results must be divided between the authorities, the architects, and the public themselves. Now that the Catholic Social Guild has included in its programme, under School Hygiene, the fight against consumption, we may insist on what is at once the most effective, the most obvious, and the most easy part of the propaganda. It is that our churches should be examples to the world of the value of open windows. But much of the following will refer to schoolrooms, theatres, ballrooms, and so forth.

Speaking roughly, air which has been once breathed has gained five per cent of carbonic acid gas, and has lost five per cent of oxygen. It contains in addition a considerable quantity of animal matter of a highly decomposed character. Thus if a man be shut up in a closed room having the form of a cube, say seven feet high, every particle of air in that room will have passed through his lungs in twenty-four hours. A fourth of the oxygen in it will be replaced by carbonic acid. Carbon acid, as the name implies, contains carbon. Carbon is the same thing as coal, or soot. If the quantity of carbon eliminated in twenty-four hours from one man's lungs were gathered together, it would amount to a piece of solid charcoal weighing eight ounces. Similarly the water which is given off by the lungs in the same time would be a little less than half a pint.

The reason why people do not fight violently against impure air in churches and elsewhere is because they cannot see it. What would happen if five hundred people washed their hands in water and then offered it to their

brethren to drink? Yet that would be no worse than offering people air to breathe which is mixed with air already breathed.¹

Again, in all our congregations there are probably several consumptives in the earlier stage who do not know they are ill. To keep the windows closed against the fresh air which they need is to develop their illness and perhaps cause their death. Consumptives whose disease has been recognised do not suffer from such selfishness because, if they are under competent medical direction, they are forbidden to attend church. The ordinary unventilated church is a menace to life; nor would any confessor oblige a penitent to hear Mass at such a risk.

Other racial evils, as distinct from poisons, are inherent and hereditary defects. Chief among them are deaf-mutism, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, colour-blindness, hæmophilia, and tuberculosis.

Hereditary Defects. Some eugenists include criminality and vagrancy. The problem of feeble-mindedness is regarded as the most urgent in the field of eugenics, and calls for a fuller statement here.

In England a Royal Commission has sat for four years and has published the results of its inquiry in eight large blue books. Its conclusions have moreover been adopted in both the Majority and Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission. The problem acts and reacts on the allied problems of pauperism, drunkenness, immorality,

¹ The soul suffers along with the body. All true worship consists in the right functioning of the will in relation to God. But the will cannot act unless the intelligence acts also, for nothing is willed which is not previously understood. Now neither intelligence nor will can function properly when the brain is fed by impure air. The respiratory machinery is worked by a nervous apparatus having its centre in the spinal cord. This mechanism is disturbed and thrown out of order by deprivation of pure air. The stimuli being confused, the respiratory movements are quickened and require conscious action. Thus the attention is drawn from its proper object, and we suffer what is known as distractions in prayer. The mental effort required to deal with the sensations caused by carbonic acid gas, dirty water, and animal refuse, inevitably results in fatigue and strain. The prayer of distraction degenerates into sleep!

and unemployment. The feeble-minded are defined as

"persons who may be capable of earning a living under favourable circumstances, but are incapable from mental defect, existing from birth or from an early age: (1) of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows or (2) of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence."

The commissioners state that out of a population of 32,527,843 persons (England and Wales) there are 149,628 mentally deficient (apart from certified lunatics) and of these about one half (66,509) are in urgent need of care and assistance.

Two chief plans have been proposed for the elimination of feeble-mindedness, namely segregation and sterilisation. When we speak of segregation we mean not only the separation of defectives from the rest of the community but the separation of sexes from each other amongst the defectives themselves. This can only be done by keeping them in special homes or colonies provided for the purpose. The aim of segregation is to prevent defectives from propagating their kind. This has led some writers to confound segregation with sterilisation. But that is quite another process. Sterilisation means the performing of a surgical operation by which the subjects thereof are rendered incapable of procreation. In former times this operation involved castration in the case of men and excision of the ovary in the case of women. Both were dangerous operations, constituting a grave mutilation. But in recent times two much simpler operations have been discovered which have somewhat modified the moral and social questions involved. These are known respectively as "vasectomy" and "ligature of the Fallopian tubes" (Kehrer's method) and are comparatively harmless, in the sense that they do not involve danger to life. When compared with say, an operation for cancer or appendicitis, they are not grave operations in themselves. They are effective for their direct purpose and, in that sense, grave as regards their subject and society at large. But—and this is worthy of serious

Feeble-mindedness:
proposed
remedies.

remark—they are not sure remedies against incontinence, although they prevent its physical effects.

Further, both segregation and sterilisation may be either voluntary or compulsory. The latter has already been legalised in several States of the American Union. The State of Indiana, for instance, has passed a law by which criminals, idiots, rapists, and imbeciles, at the instance of a medical committee, may be operated upon. The Act says:

“If in the judgment of this committee procreation is inadvisable and there is no probability of improvement of the mental condition of the inmate, it shall be lawful for the surgeons to perform such operation for the prevention of procreation as shall be decided safest and most effective.”¹

The State of Connecticut, too, has enacted the following:

“The directors of the State prison and the superintendents of State hospitals for the insane at Middletown and Norwich are hereby authorised and directed to appoint for each of said institutions, respectively, two skilled surgeons, who, in conjunction with the physician or surgeon in charge at each of said institutions, shall examine such persons as are reported to them by the warden, superintendent, or the physician or surgeon in charge, to be persons by whom procreation would be inadvisable. Such board shall examine the physical and mental condition of such persons, and their record and family history so far as the same can be ascertained, and if in the judgment of the majority of the said board, procreation by any such person would produce children with an inherited tendency to crime, insanity, feeble-mindedness, idiocy or imbecility, and there is no probability that the condition of any such person so examined will improve to such an extent as to render procreation by such person advisable, or, if the physical and mental condition of any such person will be substantially improved thereby, then the said board shall appoint one of its members to perform the operation of vasectomy or oophorectomy, as the case may be, upon such person.”²

Not long ago, at Wil in the canton of Berne in Switzerland, the more severe operations indicated above were

¹ *Eugenics Review*, April, 1910, page 74.

² *Eugenics Review*, April, 1910, page 75.

performed on two men and two women, inmates of the Cantonal Asylum. The Asylum authorities wished to discharge them, but the municipal authorities objected, not wanting to be burdened with any more defective children. The solution determined on was accepted by all parties, the patients submitting to it as a condition of obtaining their freedom.

In the Mental Deficiency Bill at present before the British Legislature, Clause 50 runs as follows:—

“ If any person intermarries with, or attempts to intermarry with any person whom he knows to be a defective within the meaning of this Act, or if any person solemnises or procures or connives at any marriage knowing that one of the parties thereto is a defective he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.”

These various enactments, actual and prospective, are mentioned here to give some idea of the trend of thought outside the Church. The encroachment of remedies such as the above on the liberty of the subject and on the actual matrimonial discipline of the Church will be immediately apparent. The moment they are mentioned there arises a clash of interests, ideals and sentiments. To allow defectives unrestrained liberty would appear to be a menace to the welfare of the community, whilst to subject them to all the remedies proposed would seem to be an unnecessary violation of their rights and perhaps an infliction of unwarranted cruelty. We must move warily and scientifically.

**The
Morality
of these
Remedies.**

We may state at once that the Holy Office, which is a practical guide for the Catholic in all moral questions in any way dubious or controverted, has not yet pronounced any express decision on the morality of vasectomy. But, pending its directions, we may safely put forward the following as representing the prevalent teaching of theologians and Catholic physicians.¹

¹ The question was discussed at great length in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* for 1910 and 1911. The latest pronouncement on the subject we have met is in the fourth edition of Fr. A. Klarman's "The Crux of Pastoral Medicine" (Herder, 1912). Fr. Klarman decides strongly against the moral lawfulness of vasectomy.

(a) An operation undertaken to cure physical disease is perfectly lawful even though it has sterilisation as a concomitant effect. This principle—the sacrifice of a part for the sake of the whole—is universally admitted.

(b) Vasectomy is no remedy against concupiscence: and, even if it were, the Church condemns mutilation as a means of avoiding temptation.

(c) The operation, as only preventing one inconvenient effect of the licence of the degenerate, would by the very fact tend to increase immoral practices.

(d) Being in itself slight and practically painless, it is useless as a punishment for criminals or a deterrent for others.

(e) The principle once admitted would open the door to malpractices in matrimonial relations.

(f) The welfare of the State, if seriously threatened by the degenerate, may be safeguarded by other means such as segregation, which, if more expensive, are morally unquestionable.

(g) Therefore the operation is not permissible, except as a necessary means to corporal health, and consequently may not be performed, outside this case, even with the patient's consent.

(h) The Church has never regarded the marriage of degenerates as unlawful in itself: they cannot be deprived of their right without very grave reason.

However, the application of general laws to particular cases is always dubious, especially where facts are still in dispute. Hence this question remains speculatively an open one, but in view of the above teaching it would not be safe to advocate even a restricted application of the practice. And we are glad to say that many modern eugenists are more or less at one with Catholic doctrine. Dr Saleeby himself declares:—

“We are dubious as to the help of surgery. . . . It is necessary to be reasonable, and, in seeking the superman, to remain at least human.”

Dr Havelock Ellis too writes as follows:—

“It must always be remembered that the sterilisation of the unfit, if it is to be a practical and humane measure commanding general approval, must be voluntary on the part of the person undergoing it, and never compulsory. It is probable that many persons have been prejudiced against

sterilisation, as I also have, by the reckless and violent manner in which the method of effecting it has been advocated, occasionally in England, and often in the United States. Persons who claimed to speak with authority, have clamoured for its adoption, not as a voluntarily adopted method of social hygiene, but as a barbarous punishment, to be inflicted for the purpose of inspiring terror in others, and sometimes to be applied to persons whose acts were not really anti-social at all."¹

A little positive knowledge, however, of what has actually been accomplished in the way of voluntary segregation is enough to demonstrate conclusively the needlessness of surgery. Feeble-mindedness is a **Segregation** defect for which there is absolutely no cure **sufficient.** though there may be improvement. Therefore if the patients are to be cared for efficiently, the care must be lifelong. Farm and industrial colonies are admitted on all hands to be the best-suited institutions for this purpose. Herein America undoubtedly leads the way. For efficiency and success there is nothing to surpass the school at Waverley in the State of Massachusetts, together with an allied colony at Templeton. The conjoint institutions have 1311 inmates. In 1905 they were visited by the British Royal Commission, who were most deeply impressed with all they saw and heard. The Commissioners were able to realise that this permanent employment of custodial cases was not only the best thing for the health and well-being of the colonists, but also that it was the best economical utilisation of such capacities as they had. Moreover, it was an object lesson showing the adaptability of the method to every class of defective. It gave opportunity for experiment and variety of employment. Its marked success reconciled the relatives and friends of the patients to their permanent detention. The public, too, who might reasonably object to keeping them, saw that in such a permanent colony they were less of a burden and less of a danger to the community. The Commissioners declared it was a pleasure to see the happiness of the colonists, the

¹ *Eugenics Review*, October, 1909, page, 205.

humanity of their treatment, and the social utility of their employment in reproductive work, with prospects of good economical results.

In England there is an excellent school at Sandlebridge, Alderley Edge in Cheshire, founded by Miss Dendy, and supported by the Incorporated Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the permanent care of the feeble-minded.

The most practical example for our purpose, however, is the Catholic colony at Ursberg in Bavaria. The patients consist of 284 idiots, 659 mentally deficient, 151 epileptics, 107 deaf and dumb, 99 cripples, 125 blind, 64 sick people. These are controlled by a staff consisting of 405 Sisters of the Order of St Joseph, 148 postulants, 63 pupil teachers, 16 priests, 12 lay brothers, 10 voluntary workers, and the doctor. The patients pay for their keep, the first class £27, 10s. per annum, the second class £17, 10s., and the third class £12, 10s. The occupation is chiefly farming, but there is also a brick and tile works, a quarry, a saw-mill, a brewery, a windmill, a printing press, a village inn, and a guest-house. The feeble-minded are divided into grades on the most scientific principles. It is of the utmost importance that a patient should associate only with his intellectual equals. Amongst inferiors he has no motive to improve himself, but rather every encouragement to sink to their level. Amongst superiors he becomes depressed and ceases to exert himself. Amongst his equals, however, he competes with them both in work and in play, and thus possesses an unfailing interest in life.

There are no walls round the colony, no gates to lock. The sexes live in separate houses, meeting only on special occasions such as at church and at concerts. So long as they are separate supervision is reduced to a minimum, but the strictest vigilance is exercised when they are together. This, together with the good public opinion which prevails, keeps them from trouble. The mere threat to send them away is sufficient to bring them to order. They are all happy. Some earn pocket-money. They like to remain because they have far more comfort here than anywhere else. The eugenic aim is achieved. They do not propa-

gate their kind, nor are they themselves changed into anti-social units. On the contrary, the civilisation is so high that no police are needed.

In this connection it may be mentioned that at the Gheel Colony for the Insane in Belgium,¹ there is less supervision than at Ursberg. There the patients walk about together in the village and round the farms. Yet, during twenty-two years there have been only four cases of maternity, *and the fault in no one case rested with the patient.*

Professor Karl Pearson, the great expert in biometric figures, has said that the Eugenics Education Society ought to wait half a century before beginning to move, so imperfect is the exact knowledge upon which it has to go. It might, at any rate, try to clear up this point: How many of the thousands mentally deficient in this country to-day would be only too glad to be taken care of, only too willing to be segregated, if accommodation were found for them?

Meanwhile, the Catholic community is making experiments with all the light available. A colony is being organised by Dr Alice Vowe Johnson, assisted by an influential committee.

As soon as Parliament has settled the legislation for the mentally deficient with which it is now engaged, a home will be opened in Surrey. Here fifty feeble-minded girls, all over sixteen, will be taught work in the garden, poultry-farming, and bee-keeping, besides household work. In order that the management shall be the most thorough and up-to-date, a company of nuns, the White Sisters, have been specially sent out to the Waverley Home in Massachusetts to be trained. Some £600 is required for initial expenditure, but after that, the home will be self-supporting. The girls will be medically examined every week at the home, and they will also be inspected by the officials of the Board of Education and the Local Government Board.

With institutions then such as Waverley, Ursberg, Sandlebridge, Gheel, and the Surrey Home, before our minds, we have no scruple in brushing aside as anti-eugenic and anti-human the proposal for the application of surgery.

¹ For an account of this institution see *The Month*, February, 1911.

The same institutions, on the other hand, constitute a strong practical argument in favour of compulsory segregation.

Should the life there be so happy, moral, and useful, both to the patients and to the community, then those who need it and are unwilling to submit to it may be considered unreasonably unwilling. *Should Segregation be compulsory? Provided all due safeguards are taken in respect of the grades of feebleness,* then there seems every reason why a benign Government should take charge of these dangerous units of society. But, in that case, *there should not be any exception for the rich.* Society suffers its full share of injury from the rich degenerates even as from the poor ones. The success of before-mentioned colonies has shown that it is quite practicable to grade the feeble-minded according to social as well as intellectual standards. This ensures that the patient is not deprived of liberty unduly, that he does not lose his strict rights. Although the spirit of ecclesiastical legislation stands for individual freedom against the tendency of the State to curtail it, we cannot say in the absence of any definite pronouncement on the part of the Church whether or not feeble-mindedness, like leprosy, should be considered sufficient grounds for compulsory segregation. The question is still open. Still, it cannot be denied that there is a possibility of zeal for reform degenerating into oppression. Feeble-mindedness is so often a cause of poverty, and poverty so often a cause of feeble-mindedness, that there is a danger of confusing one with the other. Those, therefore, who have human dignity at heart need to exercise careful vigilance lest, under pretence of eugenic reform, the rights of the poor are infringed. Poverty is no bar to the sacrament of marriage. The poor, and even the destitute, as such, have every right to the joys and the protection of the marriage state. Destitution is largely due to economic causes. In so far as the poor are the victims of these causes and not subject to the racial defects mentioned above, so far must they be protected against the indiscriminate zealot who would deprive them of their most precious rights.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIAN REMEDIES

HAVING stated the problem in its modern aspects, we may pass on to give a general statement as to the chief difference between the eugenics of the modern school and the eugenics of the Catholic Church. The modern school is simply not ultimate enough. It does not realise how far-reaching is its much-vaunted principle that there are causes of causes. The Church, however, goes to the ultimate source of things and declares the root cause of degeneracy to be sin and the root cause of betterment to be virtue.

The
Eugenic
Value of

the Church.

It is interesting to note the attitude of the members of the medical profession in regard to the various cures for such diseases as inebriety, nervous debility, feeble-mindedness, phthisis, perversion. All seem to be agreed that whatever remedy is prescribed it is not of much use unless you can get the patient to put his will into it. Yet, with the exception of a few who have made a study of medico-psychic therapeutics and who are regarded with some suspicion by the rest of the profession, they have almost nothing to offer in the way of will-stimulus. Now this is precisely what the Church can do and does. The whole of her sacramental system, nay, her very essence and existence is designed to this one end, to put the human will in the right direction and to keep it here. This quickening of will energy constitutes a development of life. There is a spiritual growth which is hardly analogous to animal growth, so different are the laws by which it is governed. It is a growth of the faithful in the faith and depends on the promptings of the Holy Spirit. If we must use modern

parlance, it may be said to have a principle of selection, but such principle must be admitted to be supernatural, not natural. It is Divine charity which permeates human life and controls all the multitudinous principles of variation, assimilating that which tends towards life eternal, rejecting that which tends towards death eternal.

The result of such a supernatural selection may be a "superman," but it will not be a Shakespeare, nor a Beethoven, nor a Newton, nor a Tintoretto as such, still less the ideal imbecile, the conception of whom tortured poor Nietzsche's brain. It will be an Augustine of Hippo, or a Francis of Assisi, or a Joan of Arc. The ideal at which the Church aims, and actually does at times accomplish, is the production of genius in morality. Intellectual power may minister to this end as in the case of St Augustine, or poetical inspiration as in the case of St Francis, or warrior prowess as in the case of the Maid of Orleans. But all these other accomplishments must be subordinated to the one supreme accomplishment, eminence in sanctity.

Now it is precisely this eminence in sanctity amongst the few which tends above all cosmic forces to produce that rational restraint of the will which is so needful for the production of a vigorous, healthy body and a useful, sane intellect. Eminence in sanctity is eminence in love, and eminence in love is eminence in will-power. But the will-power of the few acts upon the will-power of the many. Just as the leader of an army impresses his volition on the rank and file and leads them chiefly through his own sheer will to victory, so the saints, with their wills quickened by that of the Saint of saints, impress their volition on the struggling multitudes. It needs personality to appeal to personality. And the personality which alone is effective for any widespread moral result is that of God, revealed in Christ, and reflected in the saints.

Now the whole question of eugenics ultimately turns upon this point: How is the sexual appetite to be rendered subordinate to the intelligent will? The Catholic answer to this question is a radical one. It consists in the cult of

purity in all its branches, in the marriage state, as well as in religious orders, and in the world.

First, the sexual appetite is regarded as a good and useful possession. Although it may easily become the occasion and the instrument of sin, yet it is not a sinful thing in itself. Prudery, which is a perversion of purity, has no place in the Catholic system of morals. Reticence and modesty of utterance are, of course, inculcated. But when plain speaking is necessary for the right ordering of the sexual appetite, then we must speak plainly. Delicacy of feeling is a great help in controlling the appetite. But ultimately and in all difficult cases the true guide is the intelligence rightly informed. And the intelligence is rightly informed when it acts in accordance with the revealed word of God.

The Cult of Purity.

Under such guidance we know that the sexual appetite is for the purpose of the procreation of children. It is not for the sake of sensual pleasure. The sensual pleasure which accompanies it is but ministrant to its proper use. Further, the same Divine guidance declares that the sexual function ought only to be exercised in lawful marriage. Children can only be properly cared for and educated through the institution of marriage. And since the sexual appetite is ordained for the good of the offspring, all indulgence outside the marriage state is forbidden. When marriage was instituted there was given with it the command to increase and multiply, and to fill the earth.

Moreover, since the sexual appetite has for its proper object the procreation of children, any perversion of it, even within the marriage state is forbidden. It is the perversion of the appetite within the marriage state which is so largely responsible for the deplorable "race suicide" so prevalent at the present time. Pleasure is made an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

If, however, the pleasure is to be kept in its subordinate and proper place the will must act subject to the laws laid down by the Author of human nature. Sometimes God speaks through the natural law, sometimes through His revealed law, and sometimes through ecclesiastical law.

One of the most insistent and inexorable dictates of the natural law is that which condemns fornication and adultery. These sins tend directly to bring children into the world without proper provision for their nurture and upbringing. Or if that result is designedly prevented, the sins take on an added malice and tend to bring disease on the culprits. In all cases the end for which the appetite was given is defeated and nature is perverted.

But more, the law of nature is confirmed by the written law of God.

“Thou shalt not commit adultery” (Exod. xx. 14). “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife” (Exod. xx. 17). “Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury . . . they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God” (Gal. v. 19). “Do not err: neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor liars with mankind . . . shall possess the kingdom of God” (1 Cor. vi. 9-10).

In the interpretation of the above texts the Church has due regard to the science of psychology. The sins of fornication and adultery are invariably preceded by lesser sins, sins of thought and look and improper familiarities. If therefore the greater sins are to be avoided the smaller sins which lead to them must be avoided. The true and sincere Christian conscience, therefore, will have regard to the grave consequences which undoubtedly follow upon what, at first sight, may seem small sins. When a person once has full knowledge and gives full consent to any impure thought or act, then it can never be considered to be a small matter. There is a connection between the beginning and the end, and since the end is so evil the beginning must also be evil. From its very nature an impure thought, word, or deed tends immediately to disastrous results. On these grounds our Lord Himself condemns a lascivious glance as practical adultery (St Matt. v. 28).

Of course imperfect consent or imperfect knowledge prevent such sins from being grave. But when it is a case of deliberate indulgence of bad thoughts or immodest looks, they are sure to fructify in still worse sins. Every indul-

gence of this appetite outside the end for which it is designed increases rather than lessens the flame of sexual passion.

The Catholic catechism, therefore, begins at the beginning and says quite simply that the Sixth Commandment forbids whatever is contrary to holy purity in looks, words or actions. One must not go to immodest plays and dances, nor look at immodest books and pictures. The Ninth Commandment forbids all wilful consent to impure thoughts and desires, and all wilful pleasure in the irregular motions of the flesh. Moreover, there are other sins which are reprobated on the same grounds because they commonly lead to those of impurity, namely gluttony, intemperance, idleness, bad company, and neglect of prayer.

The general principle underlying the above teaching is that occasions which tend to excite sexual imaginations must be avoided. This, of course, is in direct opposition to the much-advocated practice known as "the cult of the nude." This would seek to cultivate purity by rendering the senses and imagination accustomed to sexual images. It is, however, based on a false psychology and is in open violation of centuries of experience.

A False Theory.

Every perversion of nature is followed by nature's retribution. Just as the right use of sex tends to the preservation of the race, so the abuse of it tends to the deterioration and extinction of the race. Nor can we escape the conclusion that the punishment inflicted by nature is a punishment inflicted by God. Since God is the Author of nature, nature is a reflex of the Divine mind. Rightly understood, taken, that is, in its entirety, the voice of nature is the voice of God. Thus God, through nature, punishes sins of impurity in this life as well as in the next. In fact, so terrible is the sanction of this law, that we can only regard it as a mercy of God that, even in this life, He shows us some of the awful consequences of its violation.

The superficial observer may think that this cannot be true of the less sins which are forbidden by the Church. How can the mere looking at a picture tend to the destruc-

tion of the race? It can. And it does. It inflames the passions and makes them more difficult to control. Indulgence is as a two-edged sword: it cuts loose the passions on the one hand and cuts down the power of the will on the other. The slightest immodest thought, freely indulged, produces an effect which can only be counteracted by painful effort, by an effort far greater than would have been necessary for resisting in the first instance. One only needs to look about in the world a little to see how many there are who do not resist in the beginning and who are carried on from bad to worse until unmentionable crimes are reached. It is the old story.

“Thou shalt not eat of the tree, and in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.”

But inexperienced youth knows better. He prefers the counsel of the tempter.

“No, you shall not die. In the day that you eat thereof your eyes shall be opened and *you shall be as gods* knowing good and evil.”

The result is that the world is infected with a tremendous plague. The fruits of a tree which has its roots in first wilfulness are seen in shattered nerves, loathsome disease, insanity, unmarried mothers, children with no man to call father, divorce, murder, suicide.

CHAPTER V

THE EUGENIC VALUE OF MARRIAGE

ON nearly all hands the institution of marriage is recognised as the medium through which the selection of the fit and the rejection of the unfit is to take place. A wide difference of views prevails as to what should be the legal conditions which should govern the contract of marriage, and as to the reasons why it should be maintained or dissolved. The tendency of the eugenic movement is to impose restrictions on the making of marriages and to remove restrictions against the unmaking of them.

Eugenist Proposals.

The chief proposal with regard to the restricting of marriages is that which seeks to institute medical marriage-certificates. Some eugenists would bar marriage except to those who can produce a clean bill of health and physical fitness, whilst others would only insist on the certificate in order that it might be privately filed in the Government archives for the sake of public statistics.

“The examination would be perfectly private and confidential and its result would not even be disclosed by the doctor to the other party to the marriage. The certificate would be issued, and the person receiving it could then do as he or she thought fit with it. One alteration in the law might, however, be made with advantage, and that would be to provide that where one party to a proposed marriage refused to show this official medical certificate to the other party, no action for breach of promise would lie. The result of such an examination as that proposed would be that no person could contract a marriage without having attention directed to his or her physical fitness to do so. . . . People assess most factors in a marriage, and here

would be a new one that not only the parties themselves, but their relatives also would show a keen interest in. The 'a' or top grade certificate given to a thoroughly sound and well-developed person would be something worth having; a 'b' would be tolerable; a 'c' would conjure up visions of doctors' bills and physic for a family of future weaklings; and a 'd'—well, a 'd' would be a pity."¹

Sir Francis Galton himself has written at considerable length² to show that selection in marriage is possible. He is not able, however, to go much further in his suggestions as to what the certificate should certify beyond physical fitness. Indeed he confesses that eugenics can hardly take into consideration moral fitness.

"We must therefore leave morals as far as possible out of the discussion, not entangling ourselves with the almost hopeless difficulties they raise as to whether a character as a whole is good or bad."³

Now the Catholic conscience does take account of physical fitness. But it places moral fitness first. When the restraint necessary for the preservation of purity has been cultivated during childhood and youth then the ground has been well prepared for the sound eugenic proposal of proper selection of candidates for marriage. Sir Francis Galton need not have gone to such pains to demonstrate that rational selection in marriage is possible.⁴ It is obvious. The Church promotes it and controls it perhaps more effectually than any other organisation on earth. The way in which she has promulgated the decree *Ne temere* and the firmness with which she has enforced it against much opposition is the latest proof of her power to do these things.

As a matter of positive eugenics she teaches that marriage is a sacrament through which is conveyed a Divine strength enabling the married pair to perform all the duties of their state. As a matter of negative eugenics she places impedi-

¹ *Eugenics Review*, January, 1912.

² "Essays in Eugenics," pages 44 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* page 35.

⁴ *Ibid.* page 44.

ments against undesirable unions. Some of them are inexorable as being at variance with the Divine or natural law; others can be dispensed from whenever there is a sufficient reason. In imposing or in taking away impediments the Church always puts religious considerations first. If the sanction of religion is destroyed, other sanctions are ineffectual. When the eugenicist, therefore, objects to the impediment of difference of religion (*disparitas cultus*) he must be resisted. But if he is wise he will not object to it, for the religious ideal is the sanction through which the Church controls other impediments which incidentally pertain to animal and psychic well-being.

Impediments to Unfit Marriages.

The impediments bearing more directly on physical and psychic culture are those of consanguinity and affinity. On all hands the intermarriage of blood relations is admitted to be an evil. It tends towards racial degeneration, to feeble-mindedness, to insanity, to consumption. It hinders the formation of new social relationships and thus weakens the social bond. Not merely, however, because of personal and social health does the Church impose the impediments, but for the higher claims of the spirit. The spirit lives by faith; faith is a habit of the intellect; a sound intellect, normally speaking, acts best in a sound body; therefore does the Church enact laws pertaining to bodily health. Indeed at one time in her history she exercised a much more particular choice in forbidding unhealthy people to marry. If she has allowed such impediments to fall into desuetude, it is only in deference to the claims of the spirit in changed circumstances. And who shall say that the limiting of the Church's power has not tended to increase those hereditary evils which the eugenicist deplures?

For similar reasons the marriage bond, when once it has been forged, must be held to be perpetual and holy. The mere bringing of children into the world could be accomplished without the institution of marriage, but the educating of them to their highest well-being and destiny could not. We must therefore review the eugenic worth of certain

The Condemnation of Divorce.

proposals which have been put forward in the name of eugenics, but which can produce no other effect than race deterioration.

It will hardly be believed that there is a movement on foot to do away with marriage altogether. There are people now who begin to live together without any marriage ceremony, civil or religious, and who send cards round to their friends notifying the fact. There are others who have been through the ceremony, but who nevertheless mutually agree that they are not bound by it when and if they shall mutually agree to separate.

The Catholic, of course, looks with horror upon these things because they are forbidden by the law of God. That is his first consideration. But there is also an intrinsic evil in the idea. It tends towards the degeneration of the race. And it is this aspect that we must emphasise when treating of eugenics. It is possible that a divorce in individual cases may tend to the good of the individual parents and the individual children in certain respects. But if the individuals gain as individuals they lose as members of society. When the institution of marriage is undermined the institution of society is undermined. If promiscuity or divorce be permitted to those who want it, then the whole of family life is placed in jeopardy. No woman is safe. Children have no surety for their education, bodily, mental, and spiritual.

Dr Saleeby has very eloquently demonstrated this. His chapters¹ on "The Supremacy of Motherhood" and "Marriage and Maternalism," whilst containing much unverified assumption about evolution, do drive home the truth that *true race culture depends upon permanent motherhood, and that the latter in turn depends on permanent fatherhood*. Thus does he break away from his master, Sir Francis Galton:—

" 'We must all be agreed,' Mr Galton declares. 'as to the propriety of breeding, if it be possible, for health, energy, and ability, whatever else may be doubtful.' To this I would add that, whether we are agreed or not, we must breed for motherhood, and that, even if we do not we shall

¹ "Parenthood and Race Culture," pages 145 *et seq.*

have to reckon with it. . . . Any system of eugenics or race culture, any system of government, any proposal for social reform—as, for instance, the reduction of infant mortality—which fails to reckon with motherhood or falls short of adequately appraising it, is foredoomed to failure and will continue to fail so long as the basal facts of human nature and the development of the human individual retain even approximately their present character. Whatever proposals for eugenics or race culture be made or carried out, the fact will remain that the race is made up of mortal individuals; that every one of these begins its visible life as a helpless baby, and that the system which does not permit the babies to survive, *they* will not permit to survive. There is the beginning and end of the matter in a nutshell. It is not a question of the father's taste and fancy, but of what he leaves above ground when the worms are eating him below. . . . No system yet conceived can compare for a moment with monogamy in respect of the one criterion which time and death recognise, the fate of the children.”¹

But the writer is known as an extreme individualist. Consequently, when he comes to consider divorce, he forgets that he is aiming at *race* culture. He does not see that an individual in conforming to the laws of the race is really promoting his own highest well-being. He falls back into the same fallacy as his master, namely that of changing into a final aim what ought to be an intermediate aim. Good breeding, instead of being the means of attaining man's final end, becomes the end itself.

In his popular manual² in the “New Tracts for the Times,” Dr Saleeby thus voices the proposal:

“The laws of divorce are, of course, part of the laws of marriage; and in all questions of this kind the Eugenist is compelled to remember and consult his criterion. In general, it is clear to him that whatsoever changes are made, by legislation or by public opinion or by both, in the conditions and customs of marriage and divorce must be eugenic. That a woman should have motherhood forced upon her by a chronic inebriate, he being her ‘lawful husband,’ is so evidently wrong that it cannot possibly be right. Eugenic marriages are indeed ‘made in Heaven’; but there are dysgenic marriages which were evidently made in hell. To liberate such a wife as the foregoing illustration describes may be to free a worthy person, who may

¹ “Parenthood and Race Culture,” pages 145 and 166.

² “The Methods of Race Regeneration,” page 42.

marry again, and bring worthy instead of tainted children into the world. Any modification of the laws of divorce such as made this possible would evidently serve the cause of both positive and negative eugenics."

First we may notice the utterly unscientific character of this statement. Emphasis of expression is not evidence. And when a writer keeps on saying "evidently" this and "evidently" that without a shred of proof, one is justified in retorting "quite evidently not." What is gratuitously asserted may be gratuitously denied. But we go further. We claim that if divorce were made possible in such cases as that given it would be a disaster both to positive and to negative eugenics, and we adduce the following considerations in support of our claim.

That which tends to make selection in marriage rash and imprudent is a hindrance to positive eugenics. But divorce under plea of drunkenness tends to make selection in marriage rash and imprudent. Therefore such divorce acts as a hindrance to positive eugenics. When a man first falls in love with a girl it is his duty, even from a eugenic standpoint, to take other things into consideration besides her youth and beauty. But if he is infatuated with these things, and knows that he can get a divorce by merely taking to drink, or displaying other undesirable habits of the kind, then he will more readily stifle reasons for reflection, suggested by health, intelligence, social status, and religion. Whereas if he clearly understands that he is taking her for better or for worse, and until he is parted from her by death, then he will more readily use all his wits to make sure that he is taking her, as far as he can foresee, for the better.

Again, such divorce is a hindrance to positive eugenics inasmuch as it imperils the proper nurture and education of the children. The marriage state is a burden. And in these days there is a strong tendency to shirk the burden, as is evidenced by the declining birth-rate, the large infant mortality, the increase of divorce. How much more then will unwilling parents tend to shirk the burden by divorce if they can do so by merely adopting obnoxious habits.

Divorce, moreover, for such a cause, is a hindrance to negative eugenics. If it restrains the transmission of the racial poison of alcohol, it also prevents its restriction by giving additional encouragement to inebriety. And in the moral sphere, it tends directly to the spread of the racial poison of impurity by lessening the sanctity of the marriage tie.

Let us not for a moment be supposed to suggest that the children born of a drunken mother or a drunken father or both, are not born at a great disadvantage. They are. But the remedy for the evil is not divorce. That were to act like the man who would cure a headache by cutting his throat. *The remedy lies in a return to the old Christian idea of the marriage state*, a sacrament through which the married couple acquire supernatural help to practise continence when circumstances demand self-restraint.

We have taken only one instance to illustrate the anti-eugenic tendency of divorce, but it is an instance suggested by a leading eugenicist, and the one with perhaps most to be said for it. What, however, shall we say when divorce is asked for on grounds of "mental anguish," or merely because one of the parties wants it. Yet that is what we shall have to admit if we admit divorce on the ground of drunkenness. This principle cannot be too much insisted upon, namely, that even though a divorce may be good in some respects either for one of the parties or for the children, yet on the whole it tends towards the destruction of society and ultimately, therefore, towards the disadvantage of the individual. Therefore the Author of the individual and of society has ordained that what He has joined together no man shall put asunder.

We must proceed along similar lines in dealing with the eugenic proposal for restricting the family within marriage. Professor Forel of Zurich is claimed to be the greatest living eugenicist. In his book, "The Sexual Question," he gives somewhat plausible reasons for the artificial interference with the course of nature. The Catholic conscience repudiates this practice because it is repudiated by the law of God.

Entire
Indissolubil-
ity the only
Safeguard.
Neo-
Malthusian
Theories.

Then reason comes in and asks that the question be considered in its racial aspect. If people are allowed to tamper with the laws of nature for the sake of some temporary convenience reducible to terms of comfort, they cannot be forbidden to tamper with them for the sake of sensual pleasure. This works directly, not merely against the well-being of the race, but also against its very existence. Whereas, on the other hand, if the Divinely sanctioned natural law be observed it may cause material inconvenience here and there, but on the whole, in its racial and eugenic aspect, it will promote the preservation and well-being of humanity.

CHAPTER VI

THE EUGENIC VALUE OF CELIBACY

THE eugenist also wishes to interfere with those who desire, even with a high and unselfish motive, to lead a celibate life. We have already seen what the Anglican dignitary, Dean Inge,¹ has to say about the matter. Sir Francis Galton and Dr Saleeby have also recorded their views to the effect

**Marriage
not a
personal
Duty.**

that the Church's practice of celibacy and virginity tells against the well-being of the race. In this declaration the eugenists would seem to have made the most anti-eugenic stroke of all. And it is significant of the somewhat confused thinking which characterises their works that they themselves, as will be seen in the next chapter, at times recognise that man is not primarily and essentially an animal nature, and that his betterment is not entirely a matter of germ-plasm, milk, fresh air, sentimental art, and illuminated certificates, as one might gather from much of their argument. Out of their own mouths we could refute them, although they almost wholly ignore the fact that man is essentially a spiritual nature and that his betterment is consequently a matter of spiritual forces. Here we must consider their short-sighted attack upon the principle of celibacy.

Thus Sir Francis Galton, in reference to the so-called Dark Ages, can write, and Dr Saleeby, can say that the words ought to be printed in gold:—²

“Whenever a man or woman was possessed of a gentle nature that fitted him or her to deeds of charity, to medita-

¹ See page 22 this book.

² “Parenthood and Race Culture,” by C. W. Saleeby, pages 116 and 117

tion, to literature or to art, the social condition of the time was such that they had no refuge elsewhere than in the bosom of the Church. But the Church chose to preach, and exact celibacy, and the consequence was that these gentle natures had no continuance, and thus, by a policy so singularly unwise and suicidal that I am hardly able to speak of it without impatience, the Church brutalised the breed of our forefathers."

And further,

"as she brutalised human nature by her system of celibacy applied to the gentle, she demoralised it by her system of persecution of the intelligent, the sincere and the free."

Finally, and logically, the best form of civilisation in respect to the improvement of the race would be one

"where the weak could find a welcome and a refuge in celibate monasteries or sisterhoods."

One of the most important questions for the eugenicist is the relative importance of heredity on the one hand and environment on the other. We must agree with Dr Saleeby, for instance, that in certain circumstances Mozart would have been tone-deaf and Shakespeare a gibbering idiot, and that no education in the world would enable a door-mat to write "Hamlet." It would also be to our purpose did we deny as he does Lamarck's doctrine that acquired characters are transmitted by heredity. Nor do we hesitate to avail ourselves of his expert opinion,

"that the babies of the slums, seen early, before ignorance and neglect have had their way with them, are physically vigorous and promising in certainly not less than ninety per cent of cases."

If so much depends on environment and education, and if heredity is practically nothing without them, then the monks and the nuns of the Dark Ages did the best possible thing for race culture in retiring to such places where they could train themselves in art and literature and where they could impart these acquired accomplishments to others. It is to the celibate life of the Dark Ages that we owe

**Monastic-
ism
promotes
Eugenics.**

all that is worth having in our present university system. Moreover, the strong and intellectual parents of those ages did not send *all* their children into the cloister.

And if this is true of art and literature much more is it true of "deeds of charity and of meditation." Obviously these are not characteristics transmitted by heredity. If one thing is more certain than another in religious experience it is that charity and union with God in prayer are first of all Divine spiritual gifts, given independently of physical and intellectual perfection, and secondly that their perfection is normally wrought only by hard, constant and careful cultivation. If they are wanted for race betterment, as everyone must admit they are, then the monks and nuns of the Dark Ages did the best possible thing for race culture in fashioning for themselves the cloistral environment to perfect their ideals.

What is true of charity and meditation is true of all spiritual accomplishments. The flesh ever lusteth against the spirit. The four strongest appetites in man are those having for their objects respectively wealth, independence, food, and sex. If these appetites are to be controlled and utilised for the betterment of the race it can only be by cultivation of moral power. Thus even to-day the Church sets a higher dignity upon that life which aims at the more complete control of these appetites, namely that life which is vowed to poverty, chastity, and obedience. It is the leaven which leaveneth the whole lump. It works through the whole Catholic body, the members of which are enabled and encouraged to participate in the same life through prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. The force is both negative and positive in its operation, restraining on the one hand the animal and psychic man, stimulating on the other the spiritual man.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL FACTOR IN EUGENICS

GRADUALLY, as suggested in the previous chapter, and by fits and starts, eugenists are beginning to recognise the significance of the spiritual factor in eugenics. Sir Francis Galton had all along seen that it had been a power in the past, but he was at a loss as to what form it was to take in the future. Dr Saleeby thinks that eugenics is itself a religion.

“And if religion” (he says) “whatever its origin and the more questionable chapters in its past, be now ‘morality touched with emotion,’ I claim that eugenics is religious, is and ever will be a religion.”¹

Professor Whetham, of Cambridge, who, in conjunction with his wife, has just published a popular manual on the subject from the eugenist standpoint, goes so far as to admit that religion is not only a factor in the process, but probably the supreme factor. Since religion is such debatable ground he is reluctant to admit it, yet admit it he must.

“But without religion and without morals” (he says) “there is apparently no possibility of existence for the human race. . . . Thus it becomes certain, not only that religion is a definite biological factor in the social economy, but that its value is probably supreme, and that some form of religious development is an absolute necessity for the successful evolution of human society. The clue to the ‘survival value’ of religion is to be found in the fact that the interests of the individual are not always identical with

¹ “Parenthood and Race Culture,” page 303.

those of the race; that, indeed, in many cases, they are sharply opposed. . . . No merely rational system of morals has yet been found sufficient to induce the individual to acquiesce in rules of conduct and in conditions of life, which, although advantageous to the race, are obviously opposed to his immediate comfort and convenience. Nothing but the forces of religion can keep the scales even between fleeting temporal advantage and eternal spiritual gain."¹

The reason why there is so much vagueness, uncertainty, and confusion in the eugenicist treatment of the religious factor is because in the initial definition there is no clear idea as to the end to be obtained. Eugenics was defined as "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally."

Now does the word "mentally" here mean "intellectually *and* morally" or merely "intellectually"? And if it means "intellectually and morally" does it mean merely in the natural order, or in the natural and spiritual orders? Until these questions are answered there must be inevitable confusion in dealing with the religious factor.

In the Catholic system they have been definitely answered. The final destiny of man is to see and know God face to face. That destiny involves a call to a life here on earth which is far above the merely natural life. It is so far removed from the natural plane that it is rightly spoken of as a participation in the Divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4). Such a life will require the highest exercise both of intellect and will, for it consists both in knowing the Divine law and in doing it. Obviously such a life requires help which is beyond human nature to produce. According to Catholic teaching, agencies have been provided for conferring and continuing that help, and moreover those agencies have been placed to a certain extent under social control. They are known as "sacraments," and they are under the control of the Church as under a Divinely appointed visible ruler.

The
Food of
the Spirit.

¹ "An Introduction to Eugenics," pages 60 and 61.

They are under the control of the people only in the sense that the people are physically free to use them or not, free to accept grace for their salvation, free to reject it at a cost of spiritual loss.

This spiritual life, however, does not take place in mid-air. It functions through the natural facilities, using them as its organs. The supernatural is that which is built on the natural. It is of importance, therefore, that the foundation, the natural man, should be duly cultivated.

The element of good then in the eugenic movement, and the element which Catholics will gladly support, is that which has for its object the cultivation of a healthy mind and a healthy body. Man is a spiritual being but he is not merely a spirit.

“Mens sana in corpore sano.” His spirit must normally act through the instrumentality of the body. The body and the soul have the same God for their Author. Both are good. It is the heresy of Manichæism which says that the body is something bad, something to be crushed and destroyed. But bodily considerations are not everything. Even in the natural order there have been cases in which the mind has wonderfully triumphed over clogging matter. Many great men have been burdened with ill-health. Julius Cæsar was an epileptic. In the supernatural order there have been cases still more wonderful in which the mind under the influence of grace has accomplished stupendous things in spite of a very degenerate bodily organism. But normally speaking, a healthy, well-formed body and a healthy, well-trained mind, are the most efficient instruments, under grace, for the working out of man's highest destiny. Sound ascetics require, not that the body shall be so maltreated as to give rise to nervous disorders, but that it shall be cultivated and restrained so as to become an apt instrument of the spirit. Catholics, therefore, should be only too glad to help on all legitimate measures for restricting feeble-mindedness, alcoholic and lead poisoning, venereal diseases, and consumption. *They must, however, be on their guard lest any of the means proposed tend rather in the long run to militate against the interests of the spirit.* And

in order to find out what means are good and what are bad, recourse must be had to the Divine law, natural and revealed.

In the light of this law, an element may be discerned in the eugenic movement of which Catholics cannot approve. It is that which treats man as if he were no better than a beast. It is that which ignores his call to the higher life of the spirit. It is that which sets him on a level with pigs whose reason for existence is to make prime pork or win medals at cattle-shows. Dr Saleeby is doing much to redeem the eugenic movement from this farm-yard ideal. But then he only raises it from the brutal to the merely human. There is a higher eugenic ideal than that. There is the spiritual ideal, that which considers man to be called to be a partaker of the Divine nature. Even our non-Catholic friends, those who are our co-workers for the social amelioration of our country, will see that this ideal is of enormous advantage in dealing with those vast numbers who are keeping back the progress of our race through drink and impurity and injustice.

Catholicism then, far from seeking to hinder eugenic reform, seeks rather to promote it by setting it on a lasting basis, the basis of the spirit. The Body
for the
Soul's sake. God is taken as the beginning and end of all racial improvement. He improves the race, and He improves it for the manifestation of His own glory. We co-operate with Him.

In such a system eugenics will take its place as a servant, not as a master. In thus co-operating with the Divine process it will derive from it its highest good. The supreme mistake of the eugenicist in dealing with the religious factor is in making religion the handmaid of eugenics, instead of eugenics the handmaid of religion. In this as in every other experience of life we have first to seek the Kingdom of God and His justice and then, in so far as they help towards our highest well-being, the natural gifts of body and mind will be added unto us.

Yes, that is what follows. If we are to be unselfish and live for the good of the race, ourselves included, we must

believe in some supreme Power that can guide the destinies of that race. That is, we must have faith. If we are to continue acting so all through life we must be convinced that we shall have a reward beyond this life and that we shall have all necessary helps in attaining it. That is, we must have hope. Moreover, mere love of the race will not sustain our efforts. We must love the power that controls the race. That is, we must have supernatural charity.

But it is precisely from these three virtues, which bind us to God, that there flow the virtues which enable us to work directly for the race. Here at length we have

The Moral and Social Virtues. the moral force which is the prime factor in eugenics, the supernatural virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance.

Above all things prudence, supernatural prudence, is needed for selection in marriage. Without prudence, the young people are carried away by their lower passions and faculties, choosing material beauty or material wealth in preference to intellectual culture and spiritual perfection. Prudence is needed, too, in all education for parenthood. Those who give instruction in the laws of sex must do so with a combined fearlessness, implying fortitude, but nevertheless with reticence and reverence, exercising the greatest possible care, so as to give the information at the right moment, not too soon and not too late.

Temperance is needed for the radical treatment of the racial poisons of alcohol and venereal disease. Purity is a species of temperance. Then, when laws have to be made for these things, there is needed both justice and fortitude. It is the strong and just ruler who can devise restraints for the bad without unduly inconveniencing the good, and thus check these terrible racial evils. It is the strong statesman who is wanted to-day to deal with the whole question of seductions to vice, whether in the shape of the "White Slave" traffic or of pernicious literature. Justice, moreover, is the cardinal virtue which has to be cultivated in the employer in order to eradicate the racial poison of white lead. And should the employer refuse to cultivate

that Christian habit of mind, then there must visit him the fortitude of the legislator.

Once more, in the urgent question of dealing with the feeble-minded, it would appear that every virtue is wanted in its highest perfection. Justice is wanted to provide the homes and colonies for those who are unable to support themselves or manage their own affairs. Fortitude is wanted to suppress alike the rash reformer who would resort to surgery with no justification, and the sentimental faddist who, under a plea of false liberty, would stand in the way of every rational reform. Prudence is wanted for those who have charge of the defectives. It is the humaneness of the treatment which is to be the secret of its success. Then for the defectives themselves the virtue of temperance in all its branches will be the most powerful means of improving their condition. Nothing is so striking in the colonies of defectives than the effect of religion in restoring them to a better life, physically and mentally.

The Catholic, with this ideal before him, has no fear for the eugenics of the future. His belief in the Communion of Saints is his guarantee. He knows that in every age in the past, it is Catholicism which has produced the most and the greatest of the real supermen, the experts in moral excellence. If the nineteenth century can witness a Curé d'Ars and a Don Bosco, the twentieth and every other century can do likewise.

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Problem of the Feeble-minded

An Abstract of the Report of the
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CATHOLIC STUDIES IN SOCIAL REFORM



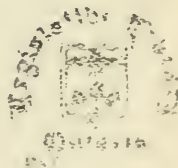
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A SERIES OF MANUALS
EDITED BY
THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD

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(Catholic)

V.
FIRST NOTIONS
ON SOCIAL SERVICE

EDITED BY
MRS. PHILIP GIBBS.



LONDON
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1913

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Wise Man wrote, "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety,"¹ he presumably had in view a society wherein the fundamental principles of belief and conduct were not in dispute. Nowadays his assertion cannot be accepted without much qualification. In matters of purely temporal concern, it is doubtless prudent to hear every side before coming to a decision; but in matters affected by the unchanging moral law, the same prudence suggests recourse to whatever authority exists to preserve and interpret that law. Catholics believe that they have such an authority in the Church of Rome, and to the teaching of that Church they naturally turn when faced with any project of political or social reform which has a moral bearing. In the multitude of counsellors that beset them, safety, they feel, lies in following that one in whom the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom permanently abides.

The series of Manuals on Social Questions, of which the present volume is the fifth to appear, has been planned by the Catholic Social Guild with the express object of examining current problems of citizenship in the light of Christian principles, thus furnishing, for the benefit of those who are bewildered by the number and variety of the social panaceas proposed, some means of distinguishing what is ethically sound from what is based upon false or

¹ Prov. xi. 14.

distorted ideals. As has often been pointed out, it is no part of the Church's direct mission to originate or promote works of merely worldly utility. Her business is to teach the individual to observe the laws of justice towards God and man, and so to secure his soul's salvation. She rejoices, of course, in the fact that the observance of those laws is also highly conducive to the temporal well-being of the community, but that is not her first or chief care.

Hence it is that the Church claims, in the interest of her children, the right of criticising such measures of social betterment as are not entirely material in their scope and effect. Those who believe in her claims have no difficulty in accepting her guidance, for they know that the divine assistance, which guarantees the correctness of her final judgments on moral questions, operates also to prevent her judging on insufficient or unsafe grounds. Where principles of morality are not involved, or where their precise application is really doubtful, she is careful not to interfere with the liberty of her members.

In this series, then, it is proposed to show in what points and to what degree Catholic doctrine is involved in the several Social Problems dealt with, what projects are, at least negatively, sound, what motives exist for energetic action, what Catholic agencies are already at work, etc. It will thus be made abundantly clear that the Church, which played so prominent a part in social reform in the past, has a distinct and very salutary message for the present generation—a message which it is the duty of her faithful members to promulgate with all the zeal and energy in their power.

PREFACE

THIS Manual is intended for the use of Catholic Schools and Colleges in order that our boys and girls, the future citizens who are to shape the destiny of this country, may know the rudiments of sociology sufficiently well to take an intelligent interest and share in the great social movement of our day, that organised effort, now so very widespread, to remedy the many ailments which affect the body politic.

These evils, we Catholics know, are largely due to an abandonment, not only of the guidance of the Church, but also of the Christian ideal. And the worst of it is that remedies for them are being sought on other than Christian principles and are therefore doomed at least to partial failure. The social reform movement is to a great extent influenced by the anti-religious and naturalistic spirit of the age. Now, social work being nothing else than the practical fulfilment of Christ's second great commandment, it is highly necessary that all who profess to be His followers should be foremost in this work, the most eager to undertake it and the most perfect in their performance of it. It would be a sad reproach if the "children of this world," for merely worldly or humanitarian motives, should surpass in zeal "the children of light" who are inspired by ideals so much more lofty and powerful, or be more thorough and businesslike, despite of their faulty principles, than those who have the example of Christ and His Saints for guidance and encouragement.

We have, it is true, the example and inspiration of past ages, yet the task before the Christian Social Reformer in these days is made more difficult than ever it was, not only because the world has gone so far on the wrong lines but because the conditions of life are so much more complicated than they used to be. Past luxuries have now become necessities and the wants of even the humblest have been multiplied by contact with the artificial demands of a materialistic civilisation. In the old days under simpler conditions the needs of God's poor, of the sick, the workless, the unfortunate, a far smaller number than now relatively to the population, were provided for sufficiently by the monasteries and convents that covered Catholic England: no economic complications were created by simple almsgiving. Since then England has lost the faith and gained the commercial supremacy of the world. A host of hitherto unknown social problems have arisen with the growth of industrialism, exactly at the time when the principles which might have solved them have been largely lost sight of, and hence we have the terrible spectacle of unparalleled wealth and luxury based upon want and misery more degrading than ever just because unsolaced by religious faith and hope.

We cannot go back to the system of the past. The organised and official Church has been thrust into the background, and in the field of social endeavour the State is taking her place and attempting her work. But if the Church cannot act officially, she can and must through her faithful members, and this is why it is so imperative for every Catholic to realise social responsibilities to the full and to aim at fulfilling them. This is why, moreover, you are asked to

begin by study : you must get a clear idea of the nature and causes of social disorder if you are to work profitably to remove it. Because of the complications of the economic conditions in which the people live, those who would benefit them must bring to the task a thorough grasp of the problems involved. And such study must begin at school, as all real preparation for life does. It is of little use to learn our religion as a set of formularies and principles without at the same time knowing how they are to be applied to the affairs of concrete existence. There is nothing about which Christian parents and teachers should be more concerned than about making their charges practical Christians. The need, for this purpose, of detailed study of social problems is becoming more and more appreciated as the need is felt for starting social work immediately on leaving school. The reformation of the world is in the hands of the young who by dint of thus cultivating the "social sense" will, in course of time, leave school, understanding something of the deep bearings of social history and able to discern what is faulty and perverse among the varied and often specious theories of social reform brought forward by non-Catholics of widely different opinions.

By a course of social study on these lines at school we shall be adopting a plan, already quite familiar to many bodies outside the Church and even opposed to Christianity. The Socialists, for instance, have established Sunday Schools and have drawn up their "Red Catechism"¹ to inoculate the young with their own false and obnoxious ethical views. In

¹ A work of the same class on the Catholic side, as clear and sane and orderly as the other is declamatory, vague and destructive, is *A Catholic Social Catechism*. C.T.S., *Id.*

this book we find a Decalogue in which amidst much vague philosophy the child is taught "not to bend the knee to any one." The Moral Education League are just as energetic in their propaganda with the young and are busy writing and publishing books on the non-religious training of children, in which are contained by way of morning and night prayers so-called "Ethical Exercises" which carefully omit all mention of Almighty God. Clearly the least that the Christian teacher can do is to equip his or her charges with true ideals as effectively enforced.

Here then we find the justification of the present work which fills a place at present unoccupied by anything of the kind. The Catholic Social Guild, fully recognising the importance of engaging from the very first the interest of our younger generation in the work of social betterment has prepared this manual on Social Service. Although it is intended chiefly for the use of the boys and girls in the upper classes of our schools it may be found useful and interesting also to such men and women—and there are many of them—as have lacked the opportunity of cultivating a social sense in the days of their youth and who, as it were at the eleventh hour, feel themselves roused to a keener appreciation of their grave responsibilities as Christian citizens.

These duties—their motives, their nature, their obligations and the means of exercising them—will be told in detail in the succeeding chapters. We begin with a short historical sketch of social origins, for the present is the child of the past, and we cannot understand either persons or epochs thoroughly until we know something of their antecedents. All present-day problems have their roots in the past, and moreover the experience of history is useful

and even necessary if we are to avoid making mistakes.

Then in the second chapter we consider what is to be done in our immediate surroundings. Accordingly we are given a simple and lucid explanation of the various forms of civic administration—of County Councils, for instance, Rural and Urban Councils, Education bodies, Poor-law Guardians—which are carried on by the free service of public-spirited citizens in the ranks of whom we shall have the opportunity of enrolling ourselves as we grow older. We are told why such work is expected of us and how we may best join in it. We are social beings as well as individuals, and many of our higher interests are bound up in the welfare of the community in which we live. That is a good, though purely human motive, which we supernaturalise by reflecting that much of this social service has for object the comfort and happiness of the poor and unfortunate.

Chapter III has a wider range and brings us face to face with some of the great problems which affect society as a whole, with the object of showing how Catholic principles can be applied to their solution. A full understanding of the ethical bearing of these much discussed and much misunderstood matters is surely to be expected from those who have the gift of the true faith—that talent with which we must *trade* if we are to fulfil the will of its Donor.

By the time you have got so far you will be aware that there is a vast deal to think about and study in this matter, and you may well feel somewhat confused as to its practical bearing on your present life. Well at this point come Chapters IV and V, containing practical instructions addressed respect-

ively to boys and girls in regard to what they should do both at school and immediately on leaving it. It is of great importance in warfare to know, at least in general, the plan of campaign and to be familiar with the use of at least one or two weapons. In these chapters you are taught how multitudinous are the ways of helping to spread God's Kingdom, and though it is difficult to say which particular way or ways each should choose, because circumstances vary as much as do the needs to be supplied, still any young man or woman with a good will is sure to find in the material here provided some outlet for his or her Christian zeal. It is not every school that is large enough to maintain, as some of our greater Catholic Colleges are doing at present, a "Settlement" for work amongst the needy and helpless, but the spirit that so finds expression may very well go to foster one or more of the many works of charity already long in existence, such as find record in *The Handbook of Catholic Charitable and Social Works*.¹ We need not anticipate here the various means suggested in these chapters, but we would fain emphasise the fact that all this social service is of the very essence of true Patriotism. That great virtue does not merely consist, as we might sometimes be tempted to think, in an active endeavour to assert the rights of our country against all outside aggression. Rather, its chief aspect is the determination to do all we can to make things perfect, or at least less bad, at home. And if to the natural instinct is added, as it should be, the force of supernatural motives, then we should find it easy to convince the world that the better the Catholic, the better the citizen.

¹ C. T. S., 6d.

To sum up, then, the first point to be realised is that social work is a religious duty, the fulfilment of Christ's precept to love our neighbours as ourselves, in other words, to work both for their spiritual and physical good. What we desire for ourselves we should desire for them. *We* would not willingly be badly housed or insufficiently clad, *we* would not have unhygienic surroundings or inadequate food. Nor would we like our children to live in such conditions. Christ commands us to see that our neighbours, so many of whom live in slums, work in factories, or perhaps are utterly destitute, should be decently housed, work in healthy places, and not bear more than honourable poverty. As Catholics we should do these things better than most people, for we have clearer direction, higher motives, and greater spiritual help than others, in our holy religion.

The second point is that to fit ourselves to do this we must try to understand the complicated social and economic conditions in which we live, understand their mutual bearings and realise their importance in relation to religion and morality. To obtain this knowledge it is absolutely necessary to study social science and to test it from the Catholic point of view. There are a number of Catholic books already published, a number happily growing, which give authoritative information on these points and the understanding of them has been made much easier by the very definite scheme of social study¹ which the Catholic Social Guild plans and publishes every year. As soon as you begin to study you will realise how greatly religion enters into social questions, however much many

¹ For details of this Study Scheme the reader is referred to the advertisement on the cover.

may argue to the contrary. To give one instance only—the one item of better housing means the safeguarding of family life, of parental responsibility and filial respect, of affection between brothers and sisters, an affection which is the earliest source of man's chivalrous reverence for woman, now unfortunately so old-fashioned. And so on.

Finally we close with an urgent appeal to Catholics—men and women, both young and old—to come forward and take their places in the vanguard of social endeavour for the betterment of humanity—to fit themselves by careful reading and wisely-directed study, so that with minds enlightened by knowledge and the spirit of truth they may be the pioneers in a movement which originated in Catholicism, and which, whether forwarded by sectarians or rationalists, is the outcome of those ethical principles so deeply rooted in Christianity that sometimes their origin is lost sight of by the superficial crowd—to look to it that their children are trained in the Catholic principles of citizenship so that they may in years to come be strong bulwarks against the onward rush of false doctrines. Thus and thus only will Christianity regain her old power over the minds of men and diffuse her charitable influence among the nations. Poverty will no longer be a crime and a scourge, but an honourable burden, nobly borne, while riches will no longer be sought after for self-indulgence and pleasure, but as a means of serving God better, by a fuller exercise of that all-embracing beneficence which is so dear to Him.

A. G.

CATHOLIC STUDIES IN SOCIAL REFORM

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF RECORD OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND

ENGLAND has passed through many changes. We have not to speak here of the far off times of the Druids, or of the cities and roads of the Roman occupation, or even of our ancient forefathers the Angles and the Saxons. Our survey will date from the Conquest. Yet it may be observed that before the invasion of the Normans the whole country, apart from the few and scattered towns, was divided into manor, woodland and waste. The Conqueror boldly assumed that all the land was the king's by right of conquest, and speedily made arrangements for a minute and complete description of all estates, in order to find out what income he might expect from the taxes, and what military service he might reckon on in the event of war.

1. THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

The manor was an open space of some hundreds of acres, watered by a stream and surrounded by common land, waste, and dense forest. These broad acres of arable land were divided into four great plots by cross roads, which met at a point near where a bridge spanned the stream, hard by the village church. The cottages of the villagers lined

the roads. Not far off and in its own plot stood the manor house where dwelt the lord, his family and servants. Within the lord's demesne beside the church was the clergy house, and not far away was the mill. The rest of the manor consisted of three great fields, divided into long narrow strips of plough-land, with a "balk" of grassy earth between each to serve as the boundary of each man's tillage. These strips belonged to the farmers and were apportioned by lot at fixed intervals. Each "villein" had his "virgate" of about thirty acres; the cottiers held their five acres. Both villeins and cottiers were bound by the customs of the manor to work in the lord's fields, giving him three days a week, and more at harvest time. This service was rendered in place of rent. As long as they kept the customs of the manor and performed their service, they were sure of their holding, and had the use of the lord's oxen and farming implements. Their implements were mostly of wood, and their clothes of leather and coarse homespun wool. The absorbing interest of the manor was agriculture. The mechanical work of the smith and carpenter was done by slaves in the Norman times. Besides these there were freemen and sokemen who also held strips of land but owed the lord no service, while the slaves had no land beyond the little garden around their hut. The estate was essentially self-sufficing, though it would sell what surplus produce it had to the people of the neighbouring town. The three fields in rotation grew wheat, then oats, and then lay fallow for a year. Special occupations were entrusted to individuals, as the care of the hay to the "hayward"; the sheep on the common were under the care of the shepherd of the village, and the pigs in the woods were in charge of the swineherd.

The manor had its court where the lord dealt with the ordinary business and disputes of the little community, such as the holding of land, the weight of bread, the quality of the ale, the desertion of villeins; and according to the terms of his charter he might even deliver judgment in certain criminal cases.

The village church was the centre of the life and simple

culture of the people. There were no newspapers and very few books. The priest, a gentle and learned man, was the friend of the workfolk of the manor. The lord, the villein, the freeman and the slave all professed the same faith, were baptised at the same font and confirmed by the same bishop. They confessed together and all received Our Lord's Body on the great festivals. And just as to-day in Catholic countries so then, the Holy Viaticum was borne to the sick and the dying, and the people knelt and adored as the priest passed by. The church was the meeting-place of all. It was the emblem of their liberties. It stood for their holidays and their feasts. And they loved their church, and beautified it with their gifts of gold and silver, and with carvings of wood and stone and quaintly written books. All this went on happily for nearly three hundred years after the landing of the Conqueror, when a great and sudden catastrophe overwhelmed the country.

2. THE BLACK DEATH

During the years 1348 and 1349 England was visited by a terrible pestilence, called the "Black Death," and which we know now to have been the bubonic plague. Travelling from the East by way of Italy and France, it entered our island at the ports of Weymouth and Bristol, and made its way slowly to the North, taking about nine months to expend its force in a particular district. It fell with the greatest severity upon the poorer classes, the clergy and the monks. Whole families succumbed to its ravages, leaving no heir for their little property. Three or four priests would succeed each other in a parish during a year. And in some instances entire communities, from the abbot to the novices, disappeared.

"The plague" [writes a contemporary chronicler], "passed most rapidly from place to place, swiftly killing ere midday many who in the morning had been well, and without respect of persons (some few rich people excepted) not permitting those destined to die to live more than three, or at most four days. On the same day twenty, forty, sixty and very often more corpses were committed to the grave."

And when the terror had departed but few were left to work in the fields, and the landless labourers demanded a high price for their labour. The result of this was the *Statute of Labourers* enacted in 1351, by which the wages of labourers were fixed at the rate which prevailed before the plague; and the labourer who refused to work on these terms, or the landlord who secretly paid a higher sum, became liable to severe penalties. A thirty years' struggle began which reached a climax in the peasants' revolt of 1381, and in the long run labour triumphed. The service of the villeins and cottiers was given up, and the land parcelled out into farms for free tenants. In two generations the manorial system had become rare. Thus the fight of the working class had resulted in the birth of sturdy and prosperous yeoman farmers, who formed so marked a feature of English life for centuries.

Another result of the scarcity of labour after the pestilence was the impetus given to sheep-farming, which required so much less labour than arable land. Woollen goods were the chief articles of wear, there being no calico in those days, and wool therefore fetched a high price. To promote the wool-growing industry Edward III had encouraged the export of wool, and the home manufacture of woollen goods. Hence the apparent interests of the farmer were adverse to tillage and the employment of large numbers of men on the land. From Henry VII to Elizabeth many vain attempts were made to encourage the growth of corn. In 1534 some proprietors had as many as 24,000 sheep, others 20,000, down to 4,000. Cottages had fallen into decay, or had been razed to the ground and labour had migrated to the towns.

The Black Death had a baneful effect also on the education of the clergy, partly through the loss of teachers, and partly on account of the imperative need of a speedy supply of fresh clergy for the deprived parishes. A strange recklessness too showed itself in some people after the plague, but for the most part the years which followed showed increased piety and fervour in devotion to Our Lord, the Five Wounds and the Holy Name, and in the growth of devotion

to our Blessed Lady. At this time we find the greatest beauty and wealth in the structure and adornment of ecclesiastical buildings.

3. THE GUILDS

Social life in the Ages of Faith was expressed and modified by the numerous Guilds. The Guild was an association either purely religious, or animated by the religious and charitable spirit of the time. From the Saxon days there were religious Guilds open to all. Their object was not trade or material benefits, but piety, prayer and Christian charity. After the Conquest these Guilds increased very rapidly, and as the first outcome of the growth in trade, the Gild-merchant, as it was called, made its appearance. The Gild-merchant was a corporation of the chief worthies of a town, appointed by Royal charter for the regulation of trade, food stuffs however being excepted. Its members constituted a sort of Chamber of Commerce, and exercised considerable power throughout Europe from the Conquest to the fourteenth century. The Gild-merchant checked competition, controlled prices, weights and measures, and guaranteed the quality of goods offered for sale. The Gild-merchant probably discharged the office of bargaining collectively for the town, as in the purchase of coal, or of the cargo of a foreign vessel. These corporations represented monopoly and protection; but they were suited to the conditions and needs of their time. With the further developments of trade their influence yielded to that of the Craft Guilds, although they long survived as religious and social fraternities.

The Craft Guilds were associations of artisans—masters and men—from which however women were not excluded. The whole of the skilled workers of the country were grouped under their respective trades, so that the Guilds of England were counted by their thousands, and gave to industry its strength, independence and property. Their gay distinctive “clothing” is some evidence of their position in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when without friction they ultimately succeeded to the rank or influence formerly

occupied by the Gild-merchant. They derived authority from the mayor or chief magistrate of their town to supervise the conditions of work, hours, days of rest, wages, materials, workmanship and prices. They arranged for the entry of apprentices into the home life of the master. They ensured the efficiency of their training, required a warrant of their good behaviour, and protected their liberties. They also safeguarded their own particular trade from foreign competition, and the inroad of alien workers. These Guilds were essentially religious in character, each with its patron saint, its festival, its prayers for deceased brethren and its recognised place in the local processions or pageants. Social functions of a joyous character attended upon the great annual feast of the Guild, generally on or near the festival of its patron saint. The Guilds were generous and faithful in helping those of their members and others too who fell into poverty through sickness or misfortune. They acted at times in a narrow and selfish spirit. They absorbed the wealth of the towns and to some extent may have exploited others. But they had their difficulties. The frequent immigration of workers from neighbouring countries threatened the stability of employment. Apprentices who had completed their training sometimes started a competing business in the neighbourhood, thus overcrowding the market. In the fifteenth century and earlier, we meet with Guilds of journeymen—skilled workers, but at the same time mere wage-earners—apart from the Guilds of masters and men. In the fifteenth century considerable accumulations of capital began to appear and men saw the possibilities of a wider trade, and the Guilds had not learned or were unable to cope with the growing capitalism of the merchant class. About the middle of the fourteenth century dealers, that is shopkeepers or warehousemen rather than producers or craftsmen, formed associations of their own, whence arose the Grocers' and Merchant Tailors' Companies. These livery companies are evidence of the rise and prominence of the merchant class. Some of these Companies exist to this day and their aggregate annual income is about £750,000.

The ancient Craft Guilds disappeared with the confiscation

of their revenues by the Crown in 1547. In other countries they survived much longer ; but the combinations, which in the Middle Ages had been the secret of success and prosperity, came with the new economics to be regarded as a crime against society. The growing capitalism, the power of the State and of the ruling classes, the spirit of independence and individualism rapidly extinguished the power and prestige of the Guilds.

4. CLASSES OF SOCIETY

Society during the period we are considering was divided into classes perhaps more definitely than at the present day ; and although the Church taught the equality of all before God, class distinctions were numerous. The nobles exercised a dominating influence, and the commoners paid them marked deference. They constituted the ruling class, and legislation ran naturally in their favour ; but with the decline of feudalism after the great pestilence, the rise of the artisan class and the extension of free labour in the fourteenth century, their pre-eminence was shaken. The lord of the manor found himself compelled to let out parcels of his estate, thus gradually merging his rank of a local magnate into that of a landlord, and transforming his dependent vassals into the free yeoman farmer. Merchants in wool and cloth, mercers, vintners and goldsmiths amassed fortunes and sought alliances by marriage with the nobility, were employed in important public business, and might even aspire to entertain royalty in their mansions. The profession of the law was the stepping-stone to high office of which many were not slow to avail themselves. The class of the workers stood apart. High birth and wealth gave rank and held the sway of power. Time after time the people angrily resented the narrowness and oppression of the upper classes, as was evidenced not only by the growth of Craft Guilds and the Guilds of journeymen, but also by the resistance of the agricultural labourers to the wage-limits, and by the peasants' revolt under Wat Tyler in 1381, and again under Jack Cade in 1450.

The clergy, though living among the people, formed by

their superior education and their sacred profession a class apart. Yet their action, besides being spiritual, was eminently social. To use the words of Mr. Thorold Rogers :

“ During a long time they were the most powerful factors in the progress of civilisation, were the principal instruments by which the very memory of ancient literature was preserved, and some of its relics treasured ; were the only historians of the age, the only educators of the people, the only refuge from tyranny and violence, the asylum of the past, the hope of the future. At one time the national and secular clergy performed, to the best of their power, these high functions ; at another time the protection of society becomes the business of monasteries, though often unconsciously ; at another the papacy is the ark of refuge. . . . As they preserved the relics of culture, of order, of law, of obedience to a common purpose ; as they maintained a bold front against the degrading and debasing selfishness of a turbulent aristocracy, the common foe of the administration, of trade, of religion, of morality, of every national and every private interest, so they were the principal cause why England became thoroughly settled and occupied, that agriculture was safely and for the times successfully carried on, and that the husbandman was not utterly trodden down and impoverished. No body of persons has played a more important part in the history of English progress than the English clergy have, especially when they were at once Englishmen, and yet had higher and more far-reaching aims than the mere interests of the day or the mere ends of their order.” ¹

5. EDUCATION

Very much during these times was done for education ; fees were rarely required and low. The number of schools of various kinds was considerable in proportion to the population. Every monastery had its schools for rich and poor alike, where besides the ordinary branches of a liberal education, skilled trades were taught. Some of the greater monasteries also maintained schools in the towns. All the larger nunneries and probably most of the smaller ones opened their doors for young girls, generally of the higher classes. In accordance with the customs of Catholic Europe, there were free cathedral schools at Lincoln, Chichester and Wells. The chantry endowments had usually attached to

¹ *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*. Chap. xiii. p. 356.

them the obligation of teaching the poor gratis. The Guilds too maintained schools. Independent schools were also to be met with, but nearly all schools were attached to some community or institution. Schools were connected with hospitals, and city or municipal schools date from the thirteenth century.

The desire for education was earnest and widespread. Fathers left directions in their wills for the education of their sons. Bequests were made for the education of the poor. Even the serfs were admitted to the opportunities of advancement which learning provided, and a law was enacted that any man might send his son or daughter to any school in the kingdom. Between 1363 and 1400 twenty-four new grammar schools were established. Some remissness occurred in the latter half of the fifteenth century, but before the reign of Edward VI, already 200 such schools were in existence, and these but the survival of a much larger number.

With reference to the character of the schools we may mention the primary or A.B.C. schools for little children; the Song schools where reading, Latin and singing were taught and considered of more importance than writing; the grammar schools in which the syllabus of the "trivium" (grammar, rhetoric and logic) was followed. In the higher schools and the universities, the "quadrivium" (arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy) furnished the plan of study in accordance with the practice of the age. A boy might remain at Winchester till he was eighteen, and at Eton until nineteen, if he were going to King's College.

The eagerness of the Lollards to spread copies of the Scriptures is evidence that a large number of the people were able to read. The desire for books, the bequests of books to public places to be kept chained there for public reference, bear witness to a general capacity for reading. Hand-writing was often bad, and spelling uncertain. Singing and good manners received special attention. Latin formed a part of all higher education. And whereas churchwardens commonly got their accounts written out by the professional scribe, the accounts of farm bailiffs were kept accurately

in Latin by themselves. Workmen's own wage sheets have also been preserved. The education of girls was less complete than that of their brothers. Those of the higher classes received their training from governesses or at the nunneries. They were instructed in the primary subjects, and many no doubt also in French. Good manners, household management, and skill in embroidery were much esteemed and cultivated.

6. THE POOR AND THE POOR LAWS

There were poor of course in these now distant times, and we shall find it hard to answer all the questions that may be asked about them. In the manorial days from the Conquest to the fifteenth century, the common folk lived simple lives. The villeins and cottiers were provided for by the conditions of their service and tenure of land. Their needs were few, their enjoyments natural, and their subsistence secure, if only they would work. Their food was plain, healthy and cheap; and though their lives were without the softer comforts of later times, they were healthy and easily supported. In those days each was known personally to the rest of the little community of town or village to which he belonged; and a spirit of Christian fellowship prompted to a thousand little kindnesses which shielded men from want. Extremes of wealth and poverty were not known, and the grinding, hopeless wretchedness of the slum was impossible.

Yet there were always those who would not or could not work. Some in the quaint language of the time were "impotent to serve." Others who were "sturdy and valiant" or as we should say "able-bodied," preferred a roving life to the monotony and daily toil of villeinage or hired labour. On the roads one might meet the escaped criminal, the runaway serf, occasionally some brother ejected from his Guild, disbanded soldiers ill-fitted for the art of the craftsman or the plodding toil of the farm-labourer, and the professional beggar. Both Church and State warned the charitable from the imprudence of indiscriminate alms. The *Statute of Labourers* in 1349 under Edward III prohibited the bestowal of alms on the able-

bodied beggar. Severe laws were also passed in the reign of Richard II in 1388, whereby beggars were forbidden to solicit aid outside the district to which they belonged except by special licence. As trade increased many betook themselves to the towns, and among them some failed to obtain employment. The practice of converting arable land into pasture threw thousands out of work as early as the fifteenth century. Thus with the growth of trade and general prosperity there was a proportionate increase in the number of persons dependent upon the assistance of others. But their wants were largely supplied by the charitable spirit of the times. Almsgiving was regarded by all as a great virtue and a bounden duty. The Church insisted strongly upon it. Each noble house had its almoner. The monasteries dispensed assistance with a generous hand, and the clergy recognised that they held their property as a trust for the poor. The thousands of Guilds provided for the wants not only of their own members but also of others. The municipal authorities were animated by the same kindly and compassionate spirit; and it was the universal practice to leave bequests for the poor, and every town had its almshouses and its hospitals.

But towards the sixteenth century enclosures were effected at an increased rate, and more men were thrown out of employment. All religious houses were suppressed in the early part of the sixteenth century and their lands appropriated by the Crown. The Guilds were dissolved and their funds similarly confiscated. Hospitals were closed, while dispossessed monks and nuns with their dependants swelled the great army of the poor. Laws of ferocious severity were passed against mendicancy. People were exhorted to contribute to the support of the resourceless poor; and at length when the poverty of the country had reached the dimensions of a national crisis, the Poor Law of Elizabeth was framed in 1601 as a temporary measure of relief.

This Poor Law presented a striking contrast with the ancient works of beneficence. Its funds were raised by a compulsory rate. Religion neither inspired, fostered nor blessed it. Its aim was not so much to care for the desti-

tute as to keep them alive. It was hated by all but the idle, who despised it. Its service was officialism. It changed the poor of Christ into "paupers." It degraded tens of thousands in every generation of English men and women till the early part of the nineteenth century, when it had pauperised a considerable portion of our people both in town and country. This humiliating state of things called for the appointment of a Royal Commission of investigation. The law was amended in 1834 under the inspiration of certain philanthropists of the period. The amended Poor Law excited much opposition for years, but with all its shortcomings it saved the manliness of the nation. Some of the worst evils had been removed, but still the law was incomplete and unsystematic. Many of the needy were not included in its provisions. It was administered in an irregular and haphazard fashion, and nothing but the goodwill and kindly feeling of many Boards of Guardians made it in any true sense an acceptable form of relief, and even to this day it is viewed with dread and horror by the majority of the poor. Gradually all the various classes of the needy came within its care, and a kindlier and more enlightened spirit was infused into its administration. Still after many changes and improvements, the whole system appeared so unsatisfactory that another Royal Commission was appointed, which after a three years' inquiry submitted in 1909 not one, but two Reports, called respectively the Majority and Minority Report.¹ Both Reports condemned the Poor Law system; both agreed in many recommendations, while they differed as to the fundamental principles which should be adopted in future. The upshot of the whole matter is that neither report has been adopted. In the meantime the Guardians have introduced many reforms on the lines suggested by the Commissioners; so that now idiots and imbeciles are withdrawn from the care of the Guardians, the children are placed in separate institutions or boarded out, the sick are generally well cared for, and the principle of the separation, or segregation, as it is called, of

¹ See *Destitution and Suggested Remedies*, No. 1 of the present series. P. S. King & Co. 6d. net.

the different classes of inmates is, as a rule, but by no means universally, carried out.

7. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The course of social activity has been one of ceaseless but imperceptible development, till eventually a complete transformation has been effected. From the Conquest to the thirteenth century the bulk of Englishmen were owners of property, or secure of their tenure in one or other of the ranks of the manorial system.

Then came the era of the wool trade and sheep-farming when English wool was the best in Europe, and our neighbours the Flemings the best weavers, who were prepared to give any price for English wool. Wool-producing therefore became very profitable. Sheep farms increased. The lord enclosed his own demesne; then he obtained power to enclose the lands of the villeins and the cottiers, and the common land as well. Wealthy landowners very generally adopted the lucrative pursuit of sheep-farming. Villeins were ejected from their holdings in order to find room for the lord's sheep. Thus some people grew richer, while others became poorer and lost their holdings. The dispossessed flocked to the towns or hired their labour in the country where they could, but always for a wage and not for a holding.

While trade grew apace Guilds sprang up and gave strength to the higher forms of labour. At the same time merchants, who bought up the produce of the craftsmen and others, accumulated wealth; and capital as distinct from labour began to show its power.

Time came when the prosperity of the wool trade passed away. The Guilds were destroyed. The mass of the working class were landless and impoverished, and the only great economic forces lay with those who had the command of money—the capitalists. Capital gave power and control, and soon the mercantile system of trade and commerce took the place occupied so long by the Crafts and Guilds.

The central aim of the mercantile system was not the benefit of the individual so much as the aggrandisement of

the nation. The means by which this ambitious object was to be achieved was the development of trade with foreign countries to our advantage. The guiding principles of the system were these: home industries should be supported, our shipping increased, protected at sea, sheltered in good harbours, and safeguarded by coast lights. Our exports should be paid for in money, so that a rich treasury of gold might be acquired and kept for any national emergency. Now this new expansion of commerce required capital and management, both of which were supplied by great merchant companies like the East India Company, the whole movement being partly initiated and controlled by the Government. The idea or system was not entirely novel, for germs of it are to be found as far back as the time of Richard II, but they did not reach a really active stage till the age of the Tudors, and then towards the close of the seventeenth century began to weaken.

Turning now to agriculture we must remember that by 1550 the practice of enclosing land had ceased for a time, owing to the falling off in the woollen industry, and the poorer sort of country folk took up the spinning of wool as a home industry. In this way the various members of a family working together were able to add several pounds a year to the household income. This domestic system of work prevailed to a large extent throughout England in the seventeenth and the early portion of the eighteenth century. Little wonder that the poor made this attempt to eke out their miserable wages.

“In the seventeenth century, during the heroic struggles of the middle and upper classes” [writes Thorold Rogers] “the English people who lived by wages were sinking lower and lower, and fast taking their place in the contrast with the opulence which trade and commerce began, and manufacturing activity multiplied, as the beggarly hewers and drawers of prosperous and progressive England.”¹

No one seems to have told the story of these poor spinners, who worked day and night when they should have slept or

¹ *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 432.

played. We have here the system of homework, which whatever may have been or still are its peculiar advantages under favourable surroundings, has proved one of the sores of our social condition, and one which it has been the most difficult to treat.

The homeworker was dependent on the town-weaver, who in his turn depended on the merchant tailor or the capitalist. We are thus in presence of the two chief factors of the coming social state—labour whose *only* resource is work, and capital which uses labour. In order to realise the nature and extent of the social revolution which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we must try and picture to ourselves England in 1700 with only 5,500,000 inhabitants. About one million of these lived on the land ; three-fourths of whom were cottagers with some five acres of land, or squatters who had settled on the commons. Those of the yeoman class and the leaseholders were fairly prosperous. But the farming was poor, the stock inferior, and roots were but little cultivated. No progress could be made without enclosing the open fields. Enclosure was in itself desirable in the best interests of all ; but the poor were cheated in the process, and the change affected most of all the squatter, the cottagers and other small holders. Between 1760 and 1846 about ten million acres were enclosed. Farming and farmers were benefited ; but thousands were ruined and fled to the towns to find subsistence where they were prepared to work at any price.

Until the eighteenth century nearly everything used was made by hand with the aid of simple tools. The ox-drawn plough and harrow, the spade and fork, the windmill, the grindstone, the distaff and the potter's wheel were all ancient and typical. The knitting-frame machine appeared in 1589 to be followed by the ribbon machine and still later in 1733 by the invention of the flying shuttle which caused the demand for yarn to rise immensely. But in 1765 the spinning-jenny was invented, which more than supplied the demand. Before the end of the century, water-power and then steam-power had been successfully applied to drive the new machinery of spinning and weaving at a high rate of

production. New and rapid processes of dyeing were soon to follow. At the time when this entirely new condition of labour was settling down throughout the textile industries, a similar transformation was taking place in the metal trades. The year 1760 saw the first blast furnace, after which the smelting of iron ore was transferred to the coal-producing districts of South Staffordshire and South Wales. And as power and speed increased the output, urgent need was felt for some better means of transport than existed in the carrying of goods over the wretched roads of the country. The work of re-constructing the great highways began in 1760. These were ultimately brought to their perfection by Macadam in 1815. Before 1800 the country had already been fairly well supplied with an artificial waterway of canals. Ships were propelled by steam early in the nineteenth century, and a locomotive was running at Darlington in 1823.

8. GENERAL RESULTS AND PRESENT CONDITIONS

To realise and maintain this wholly new system of manufacture the supply of "hands" proved unlimited. Wages were at the bidding of the employers, and for a long time the herding of the workers in great insanitary buildings went on without interference. The workers appeared as a disorganised mass without ideals, without leaders, and without aspirations except to live. Thus was the factory system born—a creature of circumstances, the product of the opportunities of invention, of the facilities of conveyance, of a materialistic and individualistic economics. The factories moreover enjoyed a legal immunity that had at length to be checked, and the year 1802 saw the beginning of the long series of our Factory Acts which have done some justice to our sense of humanity.

By 1830 the factory system had dispossessed the "domestic system" except in certain localities, especially in the silk districts. Every feature that made the factory system has deepened with the course of time. Machinery has been applied to processes where even twenty years ago its introduction would have been deemed impossible. The means of

national and international communication by telegraph and telephone has brought the remotest markets of the world within speaking distance. The rapidity of transport by rail, by sea or by air, all but annihilates the intervals of space. Men, women and children still flock in crowds for employment at every call. The old régime of master and men is yielding to that of the manager and workpeople. Small businesses both wholesale and retail are falling everywhere before large combinations. Capital is still further and further removed from labour. Labour is becoming more and more dependent on capital for its weekly allowance, and upon the State for its defences, and less and less upon itself. All are coming to realise that the great modern industrial revolution has only passed through its early phases.

At this stage the vast proletariat is discontented. Material improvements, the triumphs of science have brought comforts to many, but happiness to few. All the powers of the world are combative either to attack or to defend, and in the meantime further change is being effected, almost without our being aware of it. This is the result of an industrial system almost wholly uninfluenced by Christian ideals. It is this system that those who possess such ideals to their fullness are called upon by every motive of religion and humanity so to modify as to restore the influences of justice and brotherly love.

H. PARKINSON.

CHAPTER II

CIVIC ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL

CITIZENSHIP in everyday life is much more closely concerned with local than with central government. The ordinary citizen votes once every few years at a parliamentary election, and there his influence and his powers of action cease. Local government may be—indeed should be—an interest at all times. The management of schools, the administration of the workhouse and of asylums, the supervision of roads and drains and water-supply, the building, where necessary, of workmen's cottages and the providing of land for allotments—all these important problems come within the range of local administration. In England we are endowed with a very large measure of local independence, and Parliament is constantly delegating fresh powers and entrusting new responsibilities to local authorities. These rest to-day on the broad basis of popular representation. Every local body, from County Council to Parish Council, is elected by the votes of ratepayers and residents, and for all local purposes these include women as well as men. No elected person can be paid for his services; he gives of his time and his talents for the general welfare, at least in theory, and the whole conception of local government rests on the assumption that a sufficient number of intelligent and disinterested men and women will willingly take on themselves the burden of civic administration.

Sometimes people will tell you with pride that they never vote, and with their next breath they abuse the local authorities for their supineness, extravagance or what not. Such an attitude is quite illogical, and that of a bad citizen.

Good local administration, with all the benefits it brings to the people at large, can only be ensured by every one doing his best to promote it.

2. FORMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

It follows that we should all know something of the powers, the limitations and the methods of administration of these various local bodies, if only for the very cogent reason that they have the spending of the money which all of us, in the form of rates, are compelled to contribute. The subject in England is one of extreme complexity. We are an illogical people, with a hatred of iron rules and elaborate organisation, and our institutions grow up in a spontaneous and haphazard fashion, which has both drawbacks and advantages. In spite of the many reforms of recent years we should still find, had we space to go into details, much over-lapping of boundaries, much duplication of offices and a bewildering variety of franchise rights. Fortunately the main outlines are fairly simple, and these are all that we can attempt to give in this chapter. A detailed knowledge can only be acquired by those who have practical experience of the working of the system.

Briefly, the local government authorities of England and Wales may be divided as follows :

For country districts.

County Councils.

Rural District Councils.

Parish Councils.

For towns.

Town (Borough) Councils.

or

Urban District Councils.

Boards of Guardians.

3. THE COUNTY COUNCILS

The English counties having come down to us from Norman times, one would expect to find the County Councils of great antiquity. This, however, is not the case ; they were brought into existence by the Act of 1888, one for each county (with the exception of some, like Yorkshire, which are subdivided, and of London which has its own Council). They have taken over, at different times, a variety of duties

which formerly were entrusted to a number of so-called *ad hoc* bodies elected for individual purposes (School-boards, Burial-boards, Highway-boards, Local boards) all of which have now ceased to exist.

A County Council consists of popularly elected Councillors, men and women, and a certain number of Aldermen and women, elected by the Council itself, either from among its own members or from outside. The Councillors sit for three years, the Aldermen for six, the powers of both being identical. Most councils meet fortnightly, the practical work being largely delegated to the various committees of the council that usually meet weekly. Among the more important of the duties originally entrusted to it are: the providing and supervision of lunatic asylums and industrial schools; the care of main roads and bridges; the compulsory purchase of land for allotments; the carrying out of all the Acts regulating the sale of food, the use of proper weights and measures, the licensing of places of amusement and the protection of wild birds. The Council has in its hands a large number of public appointments, such as the coroner, the public analyst, etc., and it is responsible for the spending of very large sums of money.

By far the most important duty added to the County Councils since their creation is that of elementary education, formerly entrusted to School-boards. All public elementary schools, both Board-schools and voluntary schools, or, as they are now called, provided and non-provided schools, have passed under the control of the County Councils, which also regulate training-colleges and exercise authority over a portion at least of our secondary schools. Every Council has an Education Committee, consisting partly of its own members and partly of co-opted persons, which has immediate supervision over the schools, but all important decisions have to be referred for ratification to the Council itself. As all our Catholic schools, both elementary and secondary, that receive public money come under this body, and as no new school can be built or recognised without its consent, it is obvious that where no Catholics have been elected as County Councillors, it is essential for

our religious interests that one or more should secure co-option on to the County Education Committee.

4. COUNTY OFFICIALS

The County Councils, however, have not wholly replaced the county officials of the past, and certain of these remain as relics of past grandeur rather than as officials of much public utility now-a-days. Thus in every county there is still a Lord Lieutenant and a Sheriff. The former is almost entirely ornamental and the post is usually held by a peer ; the latter attends on the judges on circuit, summons juries and acts as returning officer at parliamentary elections. He serves for one year only, receives no salary, and risks being heavily fined if he refuse the somewhat burdensome honour. In a different category is the coroner, whose office dates back to Richard I and whose main duty, as every one knows, is to hold an inquest on any person who has died a sudden or mysterious death.

5. BOROUGH COUNCILS

Certain towns, usually those that contain a cathedral, are entitled to the honour of being called cities, but whether they be cities or merely boroughs, they are all administered by a Council consisting of mayor, aldermen and councillors. The civic head of certain of our great cities enjoys the honorary title of Lord Mayor. It is the residents in a borough paying the rates who have the right to elect the Council, the voting taking place annually on November 1st, one-third of the councillors going out of office each year by rotation. Priests and clergymen are debarred from being elected as councillors. It is the first business of a new Council to elect the Mayor. He takes precedence of all persons in the borough, presides at the Council meetings at the Town-hall, and is usually paid a salary to recoup him for the hospitality he is expected to dispense.

The Town Council, in brief, administers all the municipal affairs of the town. It manages the corporation property, levies rates, makes local by-laws, maintains the police force, sees to the paving, lighting and cleansing of the streets and

is empowered to establish free libraries, museums and art galleries. Under the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, it has acquired compulsory building powers, which should be put into force wherever there is a deficiency of workmen's dwellings.

A department of ever-growing importance in local administration is that of the Public Health Acts, on which the health and well-being of the working-classes depend so largely. If slums are allowed to exist, if sanitation is neglected, if workshops and dairies and bakeries do not conform to the law, if dirt and rubbish are allowed to accumulate in the courts and alleys that are the sole playgrounds of the children of the very poor, if owners of property are not compelled to keep their premises in decent repair, these things are largely due to the supineness of Town Councils, and their neglect to appoint sufficient inspectors, male and female, for the work. Men inspired with a high sense of public duty and with a real solicitude for the well-being of their poorer neighbours, can lift the whole municipal life of a town on to a higher level, and contribute immeasurably to the health, strength and morals of its inhabitants. Unhappily only too often local administration, where it is not actually corrupt, is inspired by no higher ideal than that of a cheese-paring economy. It is often the fashion to deride municipal politics as beneath the notice of educated people, and to leave it to a class of persons who have their own petty ambitions to serve. Yet in reality every town offers splendid opportunities for public service that should not be neglected by men and women who are in a position to exert, if they choose, a reforming and moralising influence.

6. THE CORPORATION OF LONDON

Before describing other administrative bodies it may be as well to say a few words concerning the special powers enjoyed by London. Owing to its antiquity, its position as the capital and its enormous size, London presents a variety of administrative features unknown elsewhere. The most curious anomaly is, of course, the survival of the Corporation of the City of London, as the administrative authority for

that small central part of the Metropolis known as the City. Its wealth and the many ancient privileges it enjoys have conferred on the Corporation so unique an importance in the eyes of Englishmen, that when County Councils were established it was felt to be impossible to dispossess it. Hence the London County Council exercises practically no authority within the City boundaries, and the Corporation still owns its own police, its own courts of justice, its own Fire-brigade, its own markets and so on.

The most important administrative body within the Corporation is the court of Aldermen, consisting of 26 members, elected for life by the wards into which the City is divided. It is from among the Aldermen that the Lord Mayor is annually elected on Nov. 9th. He lives at the Mansion House, receives a salary of £10,000 a year, dispenses princely hospitality and is hedged round with many ancient and picturesque customs and privileges. The great wealth of the Corporation is largely the outcome of the old City trade guilds which still survive in form though fulfilling few of their original purposes.

7. LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

London, taken as a whole, has, owing to its vast size, been treated as a county and not as a town, and consequently has its own County Council, independently of that of Middlesex. Even so, great tracts of outer London fall outside the boundaries of the L.C.C. and come under the administration of surrounding counties. The L.C.C. possesses all the powers of other Councils, and several that are special to itself. It maintains the London Fire-brigade, it licenses theatres and music-halls, and it has very large powers in connection with main drainage and street improvements, etc. Finally, it has laid upon it the immense task of providing elementary education for the whole of the metropolis, which it does through its Education Committee.

For local purposes London is divided up into 27 Boroughs, each with its own Council and Mayor, answering roughly to the Town Councils already described. The Poor-law is entrusted to 31 Boards of Guardians also with functions

substantially similar to Poor-law authorities elsewhere. In addition there have been created for the Metropolis at various times, as occasion arose, a number of authorities dealing with special duties, with the result that there is a good deal of over-lapping of functions, of confusion of administration and duplication of officials. Among the more important of these are :—

The *Metropolitan Asylums Board*, consisting of delegates from all the Boards of Guardians, administering pauper lunatic and idiot asylums, infectious hospitals and a large number of special hospitals and homes for children.

The *Central Unemployed Board*, with local Distress Committees in every borough, to provide work in times of exceptional distress.

The *Metropolitan Water Board*, for the supply of water.

The *Port of London Authority* for the management of the docks on the Thames.

8. RURAL AND URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS

There are over 300 boroughs in England administered by Town Councils, and any town not a borough can petition the King in Council to grant it a charter of incorporation, so that it may enjoy the honours of full municipal government with a mayor at its head. The next point to make clear is, how are the urban areas governed that are not within boroughs? Setting aside the Metropolis and the 300 boroughs already dealt with, the whole of the rest of England is divided up into what are called County Districts, which may be either rural or urban, and which are governed respectively by Rural District Councils and Urban District Councils. This classification, which only dates back to the Local Government Act of 1894, is somewhat bewildering, for its boundaries do not correspond to those of any previous divisions, such as counties, Poor-law unions, etc., and are not always easy to ascertain. Moreover, they are not even fixed and permanent, for as the towns creep onward and eat up the country, districts that were once rural become urban.

Briefly speaking, however, both Urban and Rural Councils perform fairly identical duties as regards drainage, high-

ways, water supply, infectious diseases, allotments, etc., but they differ in one important particular. Rural District Councillors act also as Guardians of the Poor, whereas Urban District Councillors do not, for in all towns the duty of administering the Poor-law is entrusted to Boards of Guardians elected for the purpose. Hence in a general way it is more interesting to sit on a Rural than on an Urban Council, and women, for whom Poor-law always has an attraction, are more numerous on the former. The Councils are elected for three years, the elections taking place in April; in some cases one third of the councillors retire annually, in others they all retire together every third year.

9. BOARDS OF GUARDIANS

Side by side with these local bodies of modern creation, and over-lapping their functions in various directions, there still survive, over the whole country, Boards of Guardians who administer the Poor-law. They too, in their present form of popularly elected bodies, are of fairly recent creation, but the Poor-law itself, as is well known, goes back to the days of Elizabeth, when agricultural and economic changes, combined with the destruction of the monasteries, threw large numbers of destitute persons on the charity of their respective parishes. Hence the first Poor-law, which made the help given as hard and as unpalatable as possible. The theory still survives that destitute persons or paupers—to give them for once their distasteful legal title—must be relieved by the parish to which they belong, and a great deal of money is still wasted trying to ascertain the original parish of all applicants for relief. To-day, for Poor-law purposes, parishes are often grouped together into what is called a union, or single large parishes may still have a workhouse to themselves. In either case, whether for union or parish, the duty of the Board of Guardians is to relieve the destitute within its boundaries. This it can do either by (a) Out-door Relief, i.e. relief in money, food or coals given to the applicant in his or her own home; or (b) Indoor Relief, i.e. when the applicant is helped only by being given an order for the workhouse, where he is fed and

clothed in return for the task of work he is compelled to do. Most workhouses have in connection with them, Casual or Tramp wards, where men and women who do not belong to the parish receive a night's lodging and a small allowance of food in return for a task of stone-breaking or oakum-picking, which has to be completed before they are allowed to continue their journey. In former times the provision of a workhouse with coarse food and clothing for the paupers was all that public opinion demanded of the Guardians, and the inmates were all huddled together, old and young, sick and healthy, in the one mixed workhouse. This unhappy condition still prevails to a certain extent in badly administered unions, but most Boards of Guardians to-day are responsible for a series of spacious and well-arranged buildings consisting of:—

(a) The ordinary workhouse, for the old and the able-bodied.

(b) The infirmary, or sick asylum for the sick.

(c) The school for the children. (Catholic children are usually sent to the Catholic certified schools at a weekly charge of from 4s. to 7s. per head.)

All these institutions require the close personal supervision of the Guardians. In many big towns the Poor-law infirmaries are, as regards both nursing and equipment, on a level with public hospitals, and where boarding-out or the cottage-home system has been adopted for the children excellent results have been obtained. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the poor the workhouse remains a hated institution, mainly owing to the widely held convention that Poor-law relief is necessarily degrading. Its methods and results are being sharply criticised by politicians and social reformers of various schools, and it seems probable that before very long great changes will take place in our Poor-law system.

It can easily be seen, however, what interesting work, even as things are, the Poor-law provides for the keen social worker. The care of the children and of the sick attracts an ever increasing number of women, and there are now about 1,000 women Guardians scattered about the coun-

try. Any permanent resident in a parish is eligible for election, and the voting takes place as for District Councils. There is probably no public position in which Catholics can benefit their poorer co-religionists so directly as by taking up Poor-law work. The Poor-law in matters of religion is strictly impartial and denominational ; Catholic workhouse inmates, equally with Protestants, are entitled to all religious privileges, to have their children brought up in their faith, to be buried with the rites of the Church at the rate-payers' expense, and if in many parishes these rights are not conceded, as we know they are not, it is mainly because Catholics have not taken the trouble to sit on Boards of Guardians in sufficient numbers to ensure that the law is properly administered. It is emphatically a work suited for women of leisure, and Catholic girls and married women could not have a better ambition than that of qualifying themselves by study and practical work among the poor for sitting ultimately on their local Board of Guardians.

10. PARISH COUNCILS

The last and the smallest elective body to be described is the Parish Council. The parish as a unit of local government comes down to us from feudal times ; it represented any area that possessed a church and a priest of its own, the parishioners acquiring by degrees certain rights both lay and ecclesiastical. The modern Parish Council, instituted by the Local Government Act of 1894, takes the place of the old ecclesiastical vestry. Every rural parish of over 300 inhabitants is bound to have a Parish Council elected annually to manage its affairs, and smaller parishes may be grouped together for the same purpose. The Council is elected at a Parish Meeting of all the residents in the parish, which must be called once a year. This Parish Meeting also has the right to decide whether certain permissive Acts shall be adopted for the parish, such as Acts for lighting, and for providing baths, wash-houses, recreation-grounds, etc. The Parish Council, when elected by the Parish Meeting, must consist of from 5 to 15 members, and must hold its meetings

in the evening. It has quite a number of duties to perform ; it appoints the overseers, who collect the poor-rate ; it can hold and administer parish property ; it manages allotments, recreation grounds and village greens ; it repairs footpaths, protects rights of way and administers any permissive Acts that have been adopted. Moreover it gives to the villagers a wholesome sense of responsibility and independence, and is an excellent training-ground for wider spheres of action. There are over 7,000 Parish Councils in England and Wales.

11. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

All these county, municipal, rural and parish councils work under the general supervision of the Local Government Board, whose President is a Cabinet Minister. Its functions are mainly advisory, but no important appointments can be made without its sanction, and it can always intervene and order a public inquiry in any case of scandal or gross neglect of duty. The L.G.B. also audits the accounts of all local bodies and thus keeps a check on extravagance and foolish expenditure, and no Council can borrow money without its consent.

12. VARIOUS COMMITTEES

Side by side with these elected authorities there are growing up, with the ever-increasing needs of our social organisation, a number of officially nominated committees for the performance of certain specified duties, membership of which offers interesting spheres of activity. The most noteworthy of these are :

(a) SCHOOL MANAGERS, nominated partly by County Councils, partly by Town or Borough Councils, and partly by the school authorities in the case of non-provided schools, with power to appoint the school teachers, and to supervise various minor matters in connection with both provided and non-provided schools.

(b) CARE COMMITTEES, consisting of six or nine representatives of school managers and County Councils ; they meet

fortnightly during term time, and supervise the feeding and after-care of the school children.

(c) DISTRESS COMMITTEES, consisting of representatives of Borough Councils and Boards of Guardians and certain large charitable agencies, for selecting suitable men and women for emergency work at the cost of the State, and for State-aided emigration.

(d) OLD AGE PENSION COMMITTEES, which, though they promised to be important when the Act was passed, are now seen to have very little power, as the work is practically all in the hands of the officials.

(e) To these may be added, HEALTH VISITORS, who usually work in close co-operation with, and under the supervision of the Medical Officer of Health and his assistants at the Town or Borough Council, and whose main objects are the reduction of infantile mortality and the fighting of consumption in our midst. Those excellent institutions, SCHOOLS FOR MOTHERS, are often organised in connection with the Health Committee of any borough.

All these various committees offer not only excellent training for later membership of popularly elected bodies but in themselves they usually supply far more satisfactory and beneficial spheres of work in the interests of the poor, than purely private societies or casual visiting. The tendency of our day is towards organisation and specialisation in philanthropic endeavour, and it is far wiser for young workers to get into touch with the agencies in their own neighbourhood, already at work, than with the rashness of inexperience to start off on schemes of their own.

V. M. CRAWFORD.

CHAPTER III

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE DAY SIMPLY EXPLAINED

THE Parable of the Talents reminds us that God does not give us great gifts without meaning us to make great use of them. He has given us the great gift of the Catholic Faith—how does He wish us to use it? We live amongst people who have not got the gift, and consequently fail to see many things which are plain to us. It is surely our duty to do our best to help them, for they are shut out from the means of enlightenment which God has established in His Church. God meant His Church to teach the world what to think and what to do in order to please Him. Here in this country the Church as an organisation has little chance of doing this, because people do not know or believe what she is instituted for. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that Catholics should have, and should pass on as well as they can, a thorough knowledge of the Church's doctrine and spirit for the benefit of their fellow citizens. For, as a result of their having been for long centuries cut off from the teaching of the Church, the non-Catholics around us are in the greatest confusion and uncertainty regarding some of the most important moral truths, truths, that is, the knowledge of which is necessary if people are to live as they ought to live. Such truths are, for instance, that God made us, that this world is a preparation for the next, that sin is the greatest of evils, that Jesus Christ is God, that in His teaching are to be found the remedies for all that is wrong around us, that riches, like other "talents," have to be accounted for, that there is a fixed moral law, that we have duties of charity, as well as of justice, towards our fellow men. We Catholics hold these truths

as certain, but there are a great many people to whom they are unknown or doubtful, and the consequence is that the society in which we live suffers from many evils, the cause of which it does not know, and therefore cannot remove. That is why Catholics, who in any case should be prominent in good works, are under a special obligation, in this country and at this time, to show that in the application of the faith they hold to the problems of modern social life lies the best hope for the preservation and advancement of Christian civilisation. "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father."

In the following pages we shall deal with some questions which, although at school we have not perhaps thought of them at all, are being constantly discussed in newspapers and periodicals, and concerning which, as educated Catholics, we should know, and be ready to explain, the teaching of our Faith. Just as in mathematics we are taught to detect wrong assumptions or faulty methods by the results they lead to being contrary to known principles, so our religious belief often enables us to discover what statements and propositions are wrong in the discussion about current problems and in the remedies proposed for the evils of society. It is a great thing to have clear ideas about all these matters, even if at present we cannot do much to set them right. Under each of the following headings we shall state first what the question is, and then the Catholic view.

1. CIVIL AUTHORITY

The Question stated: A nation, like a school, is held together, kept in order and made efficient by a number of rules or laws which the citizens must obey under penalty. It is the chief authority in the State which makes these laws and punishes disobedience to them, and the question arises—how does that authority get its power? Because our government is called a democracy, very many people think that its power comes from the citizens themselves. Just as at the start of a club certain regulations are made by its members and a committee appointed to see them obeyed,

so, we are told, the authority of the State comes from the united wills of all its citizens who freely give up a certain amount of their independence in order to secure the benefits of living in society. Thus obedience to law does not lessen human dignity, for the citizens are in reality only obeying themselves.

The Catholic teaching on the subject: The above theory is out of harmony, not only with historic facts, but also with Catholic principles. The Church teaches, and history enforces the doctrine, that man cannot become civilised except by life in community, that he is social by nature and is not free to spend his life in isolation. Consequently, the State, in one form or another, is a necessary, not a voluntary, association. But whatever is necessary for human development comes from the Creator, hence the State is instituted by God and has its authority in the first instance from Him. All that the citizens are left free to do is to choose the particular form of government under which they wish to live, and the persons who shall constitute it. St. Paul says expressly — "There is no power but from God." Just as a man who opens the sluice turns the water-wheel, and just as a man who throws back the shutters lights the room, even so, and not otherwise, do the people in a modern democracy govern themselves. They are the channel, not the source, of civil authority. And thus human dignity and independence are in truth preserved by the fact that obedience to lawful authority is in reality obedience to God, Who alone can rightly claim the submission of human wills.

As a matter of fact, we are far from being a democracy even so understood. The country is ruled by the Cabinet, the Cabinet is self-chosen from the majority in Parliament, that majority does not necessarily represent the majority of votes, only one-sixth of the people is allowed in any case to vote, voting takes place only at long intervals, and votes vary enormously in value.¹ The result of all this complication is that few citizens have any real share in law-making. Can they, therefore, be said to be deprived

¹ The member for Romford in Essex represents 52,984 electors; the member for Rutland only 4,128.

of their rights? Not so, according to Catholic teaching, for the power to vote is a matter, not of *justice*, but of *expediency*, i.e. whether a given citizen shall have that power depends on the particular form of government under which he lives.¹ We must not think, for instance, that the famous cry—"no taxation without representation" necessarily brings in the question of justice. It was used, and properly, as a means of protest against misgovernment and arbitrary rule, it may be claimed as a fuller realisation of the principle of democracy, but, provided the subject is not taxed unfairly and provided that the proceeds are used for the common welfare, there is no injustice done in not giving the taxpayer a voice in the disposal of the revenue of the State. The authority of a lawfully-constituted government in its lawful sphere is derived from God, and not from the will of its subjects.

2. CITIZENSHIP

The Question stated: We are members of an organised community with a long-established form of government. From this fact we derive many benefits, such as protection from foreign aggression, security at home of ourselves and our property, healthy surroundings, conveniences for travelling, various aids to clean and comfortable living—in a word, the blessings of civilisation as contrasted with the dangers and miseries of savage life. For these advantages we have naturally to pay a price in the shape of corresponding obligations to the State. Some of these are enforced by law, such as the payment of rates and taxes, and service on juries; others are left to our conscience and sense of civic responsibility, such as service on various public bodies which attend to the common welfare. Where the sense of citizenship is properly developed, the State can always count on enough public-spirited persons to serve in these capacities without being made to.

The Catholic point of view: We have already seen that

¹ But justice would be violated if the State were to give the vote to some and refuse it to others equally competent on irrelevant grounds, such as religious belief, or some mere prejudice.

the State, acting with authority from God, has a right to exact under penalty certain services from its members. To evade our due share of common burdens would be to throw an unfair weight upon others, and thus, through selfishness, sin against justice. But as Catholics we should be ready to go beyond what we are forced to do, because the interests of morality often enter into the questions which come before the various public officials—Poor Law Guardians, members of Local Councils, Education Committees, and the like—and our training in morality is often much more clear and definite and detailed than is to be found outside the Church. Here there is one opportunity of using our talent of faith. Moreover, in this matter we have to overcome a certain disability brought about by long enforced abstention from civic duties. For more than three centuries in this land we Catholics were denied many of the rights and privileges of citizenship, and banished from public life, and it is only now that we are getting back the traditions of public service. The young, to whom the penal laws are only a far-off and painful memory, are especially bound to try to take the place in the State of which their ancestors were unjustly deprived.

3. EDUCATION

How things stand: Education in this country may be roughly divided into elementary (or primary) and secondary. The former is that provided by the State and by the voluntary efforts of various religious bodies for the children of those citizens who from want of means or want of conscience might otherwise allow them to grow up untrained. The latter is that secured for their own children by those who can afford to pay for it. No one can deny that it is the duty of the State, in default of parental action, to see that its members do not become a burden or a danger through want of proper education, but the first serious effort which it made in this country to exercise that duty did not occur till 1870, when a system of elementary education, supported by the rates, was established in order to supplement the system already at work under the inspiration of the Churches. In course of time, these rate-aided schools have become the

chief care of the State, whilst the voluntary schools are gradually being regarded as things to be got rid of, in favour of a uniform arrangement under State control. In 1902 the voluntary schools were also given their share of the rates on condition that they allowed representatives of the rate-payers on their committees of control. Because these schools give definite religious education, certain non-Catholics who fail to realise that the State is not something distinct from the parties who compose it, protested against this use of public money, and have kept up their protest until this day.

The Catholic position: The Catholic stands for two things: (1) that there can be no real education which does not prepare the child to be a citizen of Heaven as well as of earth, i.e. that it must first of all be taught about God and its duty towards Him. (2) that the parents are in the first instance responsible for the education of the child, and therefore for its training in religion, the religion in which they conscientiously believe. From these two facts it follows that the influence of the Church must enter largely into the education of Catholics, as she it is that teaches the Faith and what we must do to serve God. The State is justified in insisting that children should be trained in worldly matters according to their conditions and prospects, but it cannot actively interfere, or substitute its own system, unless the parents and the Church are unable to do their duty. Moreover, when it does interfere, it must respect the rights of both these agencies. When parents can afford it, they educate their children at schools of their own choice according to their creed: the State cannot but recognise their liberty to do so. Hence it should also recognise the liberty of those parents whom it is compelled to help, especially as it can be done without difficulty. It is practically only Catholic, Anglican and Jewish parents that demand definite religious teaching for their children. They have already built and equipped, long before the State took action, a certain number of schools for their own children. This accommodation should be maintained and increased when necessary. At the same time, what Catholics ask for themselves they claim equally for others: it is as wrong

to force Protestant children into Catholic schools, as to force Catholic children into Protestant schools. Where no special provision can be made, then no attempt should be made, directly or indirectly, to influence the belief of the children without the parents' consent.

What is known as "secular education," i.e. an attempt to train the mind and will without any definite teaching about God and religion, is both false in theory and impossible in practice. To ignore God's revelation in teaching the young is nothing less than inculcating atheism. If religion is not taught, irreligion is. Contrariwise, if "Rome" is on the rates, so is every other form of belief or unbelief.

4. CAPITAL AND LABOUR

State of the Question : We may divide all the people we meet into two classes—those who have to work for their living in one way or other, and those who have not. Of course there is no clear dividing line, for many can secure their livelihood by working only a little, or occasionally, and others who are well off yet go on working in order to increase their wealth. The numbers in these two divisions are very unequal : those who can get all they want without working are a small minority, whilst those who must work either with head or hand form the vast bulk of mankind. Practically speaking, those who do not work themselves live by employing others to work for them. No rich person lives directly on his wealth : all use their money in such a way that, through the co-operation of others, it produces more wealth in the shape of rent, or dividends, or interest. Hence, as wealth employed to produce more wealth is called "capital," it follows that practically all well-to-do people are "capitalists." Those they employ, whether in consideration of wage or salary, belong strictly to the ranks of labour—but the term is usually confined to those whose work is mainly manual, and who are paid at short intervals. Most of the internal troubles in modern States are due to the unsettled relations between Capital and Labour. The co-operation of the two produces wealth, and the question is—how is this profit to be fairly divided between them?

It is Capital which supplies the raw material and the machinery, without which the labourer could not work ; it is Labour which expends the strength and intelligence necessary to make Capital productive. Neither can get on without the other, yet Capital tends always to increase whilst the emoluments of Labour remain stationary. What has Christian teaching to say on the matter ?

The Catholic point of view : There is nothing wrong in the possession of wealth, or in the desire to make it greater, provided it is not misused. Such a use of wealth is not wrong in itself, but it easily becomes so, if it results in the concentration, in the hands of a comparatively few irresponsible people, of the means of livelihood of vast numbers of others. Also very great wealth tends to give its owner undue power over the lives and fortunes of his fellows. The first charge on the resources of a country, according to Catholic teaching, is the support of its inhabitants. When we find a large proportion of those inhabitants dependent for their actual livelihood wholly on the good pleasure of those who own the means of production, and therefore liable at the will or caprice of the latter to be deprived of it, we may conclude in general that that country is not as God would have it. God's law demands for the workers security of employment, sufficiency of wage, the means of decent living. " Capitalism " in its modern sense, i.e. the pursuit of wealth without regard for the human claims of those who help to produce it, is one great source of present-day evils. Christianity has always emphasised both the responsibility of riches and the dignity of labour. The human factor in the production of wealth has a right to be treated as a rational being, and not as a machine. Whether, apart from the sufficient wage to which he has a rightful claim, he should share in the actual profits of what he produces depends on the nature of the arrangement he has made with his employer. If he shares in the profits as a *right*, he should also in justice share the risks and the losses. On the other hand, the fact that his wages are fixed whatever the result may be regarded as making up for his not sharing the profits. Provided he gets a fair wage, the rest is a matter for bargaining.

5. TRADE UNIONS AND STRIKES

The State of the Question: Many of the working-people in this country have banded together in unions according to trades, with the object of preventing the insufficient wages which fierce competition for work tends to bring about, and in general of bettering the conditions of labour. An individual workman spurred by necessity to seek a job cannot be said to make a free contract with his employer. On the one side, it is work or starvation; on the other, this man, or one of a thousand others—and an unscrupulous employer (or a company which has no conscience) gets the cheapest labour he can without thought of the needs of the workman. It is strange to think that these Trade Unions were actually illegal fifty years ago, so completely was the law on the side of the Capitalist. Unfortunately, not all the trades are as yet organised in this way, and it is still possible to take advantage of the workers' necessities. On the other hand, although the main objects of these Unions are right and just, their spirit and methods have not always been so. In order to preserve their freedom of action and to avoid various legal responsibilities, because, moreover, such an attempt would be strenuously opposed by the other side, which at present is the stronger, they do not seek charters from the State but remain voluntary associations. Thus workmen may freely refuse to join them and be bound by their standards of work, wages, etc. As this greatly hampers their action, they have often attempted violence and intimidation against such workers as wish to remain independent, as they are free to do. Also, they have often used the weapons of the strike without necessity or sufficient reason, causing great loss and misery to the community at large without any compensating advantage.

The Catholic point of view: Although the old Trade Guilds, which united the interests of masters and men, were influenced by religion, provided for apprentices and recognised the claims of charity as well as of justice, approached nearer to the Christian ideal, the Church, in view of the present state of the industrial world, encourages and upholds Trade Unions as practically the most efficient means of

securing justice for the worker. But she upholds also the sanctity of free contracts, so long as their conditions remain substantially the same, and as for strikes, prescribes for their lawfulness the same qualities as she does for the act of war, viz. real necessity and an object proportionate to the loss and suffering undergone, previous efforts at agreement, a reasonable prospect of success.

6. DESTITUTION. SWEATING. THE LIVING WAGE

State of the Case : It is said that one fourth of the population of this country, even in times of prosperity, are living under conditions of poverty, all but lacking means to purchase the barest necessities of life for themselves and their children. These 10 or 12 millions have generally less than a pound a week per family in wages, out of which they have to provide rent, clothing, fuel and food. When times are bad the numbers of these people and their miseries increase. They are the destitute poor, the unskilled or unemployed workfolk, with those dependent on them. They have no possessions but their bodily health and strength ; if they cannot get work they have to go to the Poor-house or starve. They have no Trade Unions to protect them, and so they are made victims of "sweaters," i.e. employers who work them exceedingly hard at a very low wage. Their existence is a reproach to a civilised State ; it is a direct result of the un-Christian industrialism which reigned unchecked for over a century and which the State (having at the Reformation destroyed its fellow-worker, the Church) is now clumsily endeavouring to keep in check. The crime of "sweating" is especially odious, for it is a sort of revival of slavery. The slave could earn nothing for himself, however hard he worked. The "sweated" worker earns very little in proportion to the labour and time expended. Latterly, in some trades where "sweating" was particularly rife, the Government has fixed a certain minimum sum for wages ; it is to be hoped that this principle will be extended to protect other helpless workers, and establish for them, too, some sort of a living wage.

The Catholic Standpoint : The Church which praises

voluntary poverty and blesses the lot of the poor, abhors destitution, which is poverty pushed to such an extent that the victim cannot lead a decent human life. She condemns the social and industrial arrangements which make widespread destitution possible and, indeed, inevitable. With all the force of her authority she preaches the necessity of the living wage, i.e. of such a remuneration for toil that the toiler can support himself and a normal family in "frugal comfort." This should be one of the first charges upon land and industries; on the basis of adequate wages should both profits and prices be arranged.

At the same time the Church recognises that, until by State action, or, better, by the workings of Christian influences the conditions of industry become more human, it may be impossible in some trades to pay a living wage. Before any employer can be accused of injustice, the particulars of his case must necessarily be considered. The general establishment of a living wage might possibly result in a rise in prices. Many employers of small means might find it hard or impossible to narrow their profits still further, and so would be compelled to ask more for their goods. Some sacrifice, therefore, must be demanded from society generally to secure the wellbeing of the downtrodden, and the sacrifice demanded from us who are comparatively well-to-do, in order to raise our fellow-creatures out of the morass of destitution, may perhaps be the foregoing of some luxury of food or attire of which we are fond, but which, owing to the workers being better paid, has become too dear for our purses.

7. HOUSING

State of the Case: Closely allied with the living wage is the Housing Question. The factory system has drawn large numbers of work-folk into crowded areas around their work. This need of theirs has given the owners of house property the opportunity of asking exorbitant rents for very little accommodation, a chance which has been seized by too many. The consequence is "the slums"—crowded tenements, insanitary conditions, absence of light and air and

good water-supply, little or no furniture, general prevalence of dirt, disease and immorality. Second, if not equal in iniquity to the "sweater" is the owner of slum property, who will not improve it because it brings in a higher rental as it is. The town authorities in many cases are endeavouring to get rid of slums by erecting what are called "workers' flats," "associated homes," and "municipal dwelling-houses," which no doubt mitigate the evils of slum-dom, but are still a long way from the *home* which every family should possess. The evils of bad housing exist also in rural districts with much less excuse, owing partly to the neglect of farmers and landowners, and partly to the low rate of agricultural wages, which makes it impossible from a financial standpoint to build and let decent cottages.

The Catholic view: The Church, which in various ways is the great upholder of the family, regards decent housing as a practical necessity for decent living. Some degree of privacy and independence is needed to constitute a home where children can be well looked after by those immediately responsible. All approach to "barrack life" she deplors as making for moral evil. She teaches, therefore, that the *first* duty of a house-owner is not to draw rent, but to see that his property is fit for human habitation. A more general sense of the duties of ownership as distinct from its rights, is what she aims at inspiring, and she approves of the action of the State in insisting upon the provision of proper dwellings for the poor. At the same time she recognises that a great deal of this misery is due to wrong industrial conditions, which brings us back again to the living wage, such remuneration for toil as will enable the labourer to procure adequate food, clothing and *shelter* for himself and those dependent on him.

8. THE DRINK QUESTION

State of the Case: Given the existence of an easily-manufactured, pleasant and plentiful liquid substance which, when taken in excess, injures both body and soul; given a population as a rule incapable of exercising due moderation because deprived of the restraints of practical

religion, and you have in the combination of the two what, but for State intervention, would be a serious menace to the existence of organised society. Liquors which have alcohol as an ingredient form the substance which is pleasant in its immediate, but harmful in its later, effects; the de-Christianised multitudes around us are those who cannot be trusted with free access to this seductive source of pleasure and of ruin. Consequently, warned by much experience, the State, exercising its proper function of supporting the morally weak in the paths of right living, puts a heavy duty on the manufacture of alcoholic liquors and charges a heavy licence for their sale, with the object of making them less cheap and plentiful than they otherwise would be, and at the same time, of raising money for public purposes. But in spite of what the State thus does in the interests of self-preservation, in spite of restrictions as to price and place and time which it puts on the consumption of alcoholic liquor by the masses, a great many people still drink more than is good for them either in body, soul or purse. For drinking, besides being a ready means of obtaining bodily gratification, has also become a social habit, a feature of friendly intercourse, a sign of good-fellowship and generosity. Whether the consumption of alcohol is ever physically beneficial for those in health, is a question for medical men, and they are not agreed, but no one can doubt that the habit of drink, even when not carried to excess, constitutes an immense waste of the national resources, and an immense deal of unhappiness in families. The drinker refuses to give money for the common necessities of the family, and spends it selfishly on this luxury. It is the main cause, besides, of crime, ill-health and insanity, and the State has to spend millions in maintaining prisons, hospitals, asylums and reformatories because its citizens are incapable of due self-restraint in this matter. No wonder that fresh legislation is constantly being demanded and projected in order to stem the evil.

The Catholic Attitude: The Church does not condemn alcoholic beverages as evil, nor drinking as sinful, but she commands moderation in this as in every other kind of

bodily gratification, and she encourages abstinence as an acceptable form of Christian mortification. Whilst approving of State action so long as it does not unduly interfere with personal liberty, she realises that the only permanent remedy lies in the education of the public conscience. That conscience is made up of the consciences of individuals, and it is to the individual that she turns with her confraternities and societies devoted to the promotion of temperance. The education of the public conscience in this heresy-ridden land must necessarily be a slow process (and there are heresies even on the subject of alcohol), but there are enough signs of progress to warrant good hopes that by the combined action of the State and voluntary agencies the vice of intemperance will be ultimately got under control. In any case it is only prudent for the young to avoid acquiring a habit which confers little and doubtful benefit and may be the source of considerable evils.

9. BETTING AND GAMBLING

 *State of the Case* : A similar instance of the inability of the majority of the population to resist, without the backing of religious principle, a strong temptation to excess is provided by this subject. The temptation in this case, so far as it does not appeal to a mere longing for excitement, is to the vice of avarice—the desire of riches acquired speedily and without personal effort—and the State for the sake of the common welfare has had to take action in order to mitigate its force. The practice is widely spread, especially amongst those who can least afford the losses it may entail, and, like the vice of drunkenness, it frequently causes great misery in the home. Consequently the State is fully justified in restricting the opportunities for its practice, and especially in endeavouring to protect the young from being exposed to occasions of acquiring the habit. Like intemperance, it has been condemned on wrong principles, as if it were essentially an evil practice, and confusion has thus been created in the public conscience.

The Catholic Doctrine : The essence of betting and gambling is the risking of something of some value, either on

some uncertain issue or to assert some personal view, with the expectation of gaining by the result. In itself, it is not against morality. It is a form of contract, and, if lawfully entered on and faithfully fulfilled, cannot be condemned. Just as a man may give away what belongs to him without expecting any return, so he may part with it on the mere chance of getting something back. But for a variety of reasons the practice is very liable to abuse. It is unlawful if the thing risked is not wholly at the disposal of the gambler, being required for the support of those dependent on him or for the payment of his just debts. Or again, if by unfair means he tries to determine the issue in his own favour, or otherwise uses fraud. Or if his devotion to the practice causes him to neglect his obligations. But the chief moral reason for which the practice is to be avoided is that it directly ministers to covetousness, a desire of gain out of all proportion to need or to effort.

10. PEACE

State of the Question : Although the members of civilised states refer their disputes to the Courts of Law set up by the supreme authority, the civilised states themselves are still prone to settle their quarrels by appeals to brute force. In other words, law governs the domestic affairs of each state, but is powerless to govern their international affairs. One main reason is that there is no supreme authority to which sovereign states can appeal and which can enforce its own decisions. The community of nations is still in the condition in which each separate nation was before law and order were established in its midst. But, instead of combining together and setting up some sort of supreme authority to which disputes could be referred, the nations of the world prefer to spend untold sums in keeping up armies and navies to protect themselves, each against the possible aggression of the others. It is calculated that this refusal to allow the moral law to govern their dealings with one another costs the nations of the world about £400,000,000 annually. Thus, even in times of peace they are suffering some of the misfortunes of war. It is said that no supreme tribunal

could be established which would merit the confidence of all the nations, but this is not at all certain. There is just the same miscarriage of justice possible in the domestic tribunals of each state, but these work satisfactorily on the whole, and in any case arbitration is at least as likely to secure justice as are the chances of war.

The Catholic Attitude: So long as there actually is no supreme Court of Arbitration set up by the Governments of the world and backed by their authority, Christian teaching admits the righteousness of war, because it is often the only means of asserting just claims. But to be justified it must be (1) undertaken in furtherance of genuine rights, (2) the last resource, all other means having been found unavailing, (3) waged by the supreme authority in the state, (4) productive of advantages much greater than the horrors it entails, (5) carried on, as far as possible, in a humane and civilised fashion. The Church deploras war as at best a terrible misfortune, and the fruitful occasion of innumerable moral evils: nothing but the highest ends—the triumph of right and justice—can make it tolerable. Her own spirit, inherited from her Founder, is wholly averse from it. She hates “fighting for fighting’s sake” and the host of evil motives, as culpable in a nation as in an individual, that prompt aggression—pride, envy, contempt of others, ambition, greed and the like.

11. SPIRITUALISM

State of the Question: Mankind has always been prone to pry into the hidden secrets by unlawful means, and “seeking the truth from the dead” is one of the crimes strongly prohibited in the Old Testament (Deut. xviii. 9 *et seq.*). But this sinful curiosity has greatly spread in our midst owing to the decay of belief in revealed religion, brought about by Protestantism. Amongst the innumerable sects that have sprung up in societies cut off from the Church, those who find some satisfaction for their religious instincts and some support for their belief in another world by means of communications with “spirits” are conspicuous. Outside the Church the practice is growing,

and even some Catholics are wicked or ill-instructed enough thus to traffic with what proclaim themselves the spirits of the dead. The result is almost invariably a loss of mental health, sometimes reaching to insanity, and a deterioration of moral character. Even on human and prudential grounds the practice is to be discouraged for, whilst these evils certainly result, no positive good has ever resulted from it. We cannot doubt, in spite of all the fraud and trickery that characterise its adherents, that the evidence does point with certainty to the existence of evil immaterial beings who thus enter into communication with mankind.

The Catholic Attitude: This is unmistakable. The Church regards all this exercise of curiosity as an unlawful attempt to alter the character of our probation by seeking knowledge which God has withheld from us. She ranks necromancy as the same kind of sin as those condemned by the Second Commandment. In fact, it may well be the actual sin of dealing with the devil, for although God has often used angels and disembodied spirits to convey His will to men, He has forbidden us to seek information in that way without His permission. The spirits that are invoked in defiance of His prohibition answer of course with His permission (for, according to Christian teaching, there is no room in the other world for spirits wandering about independently and acting on their own discretion), but they are almost certainly either devils or lost souls. This is confirmed by their character as shown in their communications—lying and a disbelief in the Incarnation are prominent traits thereof. They cannot tell the future, for this is known only to God, nor do they communicate any useful information to men.

12. MATERIALISM

State of the Case: There is a system of thought called materialism, which is in a sense opposed to spiritualism, because it denies the existence of anything except matter and force. But it is not of that we wish to speak here. It is rather of that frame of mind which is so taken up with this material world as to have almost lost the capacity

of conceiving the next. It is sometimes called worldliness, because it is pre-occupied exclusively with the things of earth, whether they relate to pleasure or business. It finds little use for the virtue of faith, by which things invisible are perceived, or for the virtue of hope by which they are desired, or for the virtue of charity by which they are loved. It is influenced almost wholly by the suggestions of sense and the short-sighted wisdom of the world. It forms the atmosphere in which we shall have to pass our lives and, unless we can provide in some way against it, it cannot but injure our spiritual progress. Even the strongest convictions are hardly proof against continued negation. We are, as it were, carrying a light through a crowd, most members of which are trying to blow it out.

The Catholic Attitude : These external influences, and the response they meet with in our lower natures, constitute our probation. There is need of constant effort to remember our duty towards God and to do it. Our condition gives the necessary scope for the exercise of faith and hope, and should prove a stimulus to love. We have often to sacrifice the present to the future and the tangible to the unseen. The Church in her sacraments and other means of grace provides us with the requisite guidance and strength. But outside the sacramental system there is no more efficacious means of overcoming worldliness than the practice of a periodic retreat. A retreat does for the soul what a period of rest and recreation does for the bodily health. It invigorates the spirit, restores its keenness of sight, sets it again on the true path, gives it force to advance. Retreats are constant features in the lives of those who would seem the least likely to be led astray by false principles, the priests and religious of the Church—how much more necessary for those who live exposed to dangerous influences in the world?

We have made retreats, but there are many who have never had the chance. A notable feature in modern social life is the increased facilities which are now being offered to the workers and those of little leisure for enjoying this spiritual privilege. The movement took its rise from France and Belgium, where its benefits are so much appreciated

that many employers pay their workmen's wages when they are spending a few days in prayerful retirement. Houses have been opened in England where workers of both sexes, clerks, shop-girls, etc., can make the exercises of a retreat : even elementary school children are being provided with the like facilities. There are some people who see in this retreat movement *the* means of restoring Christianity to the industrial life of the country. It is plain that anything we can do, directly or indirectly, to make it progress will be an admirable service to the cause of Christ.

JOSEPH KEATING.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL WORK FOR BOYS AT SCHOOL AND AFTER

"THE principle of the active participation of the laity in the solicitude and work of the clergy is fully recognised in fact. . . . (Work among the poor) is work for the laity—they cannot do it vicariously through Priests and Sisters. There is a work of personal service that they must perform themselves. It is as necessary for the right formation of their own Christian character as it is beneficial to their poorer brethren It has been whispered that the laity are not sufficiently employed in the work of the Church. Would to God that more among them stepped forward to throw themselves into the great Christian work of regenerating the masses in overcrowded centres of population! This work of fraternal charity is to their hand. The Church invites, nay, presses them into her service. Let them gird themselves and put their back into the work. The chivalry of personal service to Christ in His poor is open to them."

THE words quoted above were spoken by Cardinal Vaughan at the Catholic Conference of 1899. They are an echo of the ringing summons of Pope Leo XIII to young men—a summons which has frequently been repeated by Pius X.

1. THE CALL OF THE POPE

In many lands Catholic young men have eagerly welcomed the call from the Father of Christendom and have sprung to action. All that was best in them has been stirred into flame by this appeal to their generosity. Here was a crusade in the noblest of causes and their services were wanted. No wonder that coats were taken off.

And so we find, for instance, in France to-day the splendid Association of Catholic Young Men with its 120,000 members who are by no means content merely to pay their subscrip-

tions but who give generously in the coin of personal service. They are out to work for Church and Country, and if it involves giving up their week-ends they do not complain. They are leaving their mark on the religious and social history of France.

Or take Belgium, the country to which Catholics can point with such pride. There we find the bigger boys in the schools keenly interested in social questions, and even taking a part in social work. They know very well that a great battle is going on and that they must lose no time in training themselves for it. They will soon be in the fighting line.

Indeed, wherever we look we find, in greater or less degree, that the Pope's summons has stirred up the young men who are to shape the future and are not without influence on the present.

2. OUR RESPONSE

What has been our response in this country? It leaves something to be desired. The young men have not caught fire—or at all events the conflagration has not been sufficiently general.

Most would naturally be expected of those who are receiving or have received a good secondary education. Our Catholic colleges should be training leaders of thought and action—men who will put their superior knowledge at the service of others less fortunate than themselves. That is the Catholic idea of education: that it should not be merely for the benefit of the favoured few but for the common good.

A great deal of stress is being laid at present in the non-Catholic public schools upon training in citizenship and social service. Most of these schools support missions or Settlements in which the boys take an interest. In this matter we should, as Catholics, be in the front rank.

Of course there are difficulties. School life is well occupied with preparing for examinations and organising games and attending to other immediate concerns. These things not only take up most of a boy's time, but they are apt to absorb

all his interest. He does not look beyond and ask himself what it is all *for*.

Now, the chances that a boy will take up social work after leaving school are very much increased if he has already turned his mind to social questions when at school. On the other hand, if he is content with a narrow horizon at school he may fail to extend it when he leaves. The complaint is heard from priests that some of the boys who leave our Catholic schools have no idea of making themselves useful :—" That boy will not stir a finger to help in parish work. His father was a model layman, foremost in good works : but the son seems to think only of amusing himself. He regards the working classes as made for his private benefit. Meanwhile my boys' club is languishing for want of help. The working men themselves are irritated by an aloofness which they feel to be un-Catholic."

3. OUR SPECIAL NEEDS

Certain kinds of help are urgently required from the coming generation of Catholic laymen. On the extent to which that help is given will depend largely the future of religion in this country—and, we may add, of the country itself.

1. It need hardly be said that the first kind of help that is required is the example of a good Catholic life, based on a spontaneous frequentation of the Sacraments. No social activity will much avail unless it springs from a supernatural life.

2. The second way in which laymen may help the Church is by succeeding in their profession or occupation and at the same time fulfilling the " duties of their state of life," as the old books have it. The successful man has influence, and influence is a good thing to have, provided we use it aright.

3. Thirdly, the layman who is to be of use must learn something about his religion—and he *must go on learning* about it. It is deplorable to see how many stop short at the Catechism which they learnt at school. They read no Catholic books, and their minds starve in consequence. People all round them are asking questions about religion,

discussing it, attacking it—and they, our Catholic representatives, are but dumb dogs. They are puzzled by a simple question and floored by a hoary anti-Catholic lie.

4. Again, the educated Catholic layman must know something not only of religious doctrine and history but of the social teaching and spirit of the Church.

Every one is interested at present in what are called “social problems.” They are discussed in every club and drawing-room, office and workshop. Books and pamphlets on them pour from the press. The newspapers are full of them. People are much less interested in party politics as such than they are in the great social questions of the day. The Living Wage—Sweating—Housing—Strikes—Socialism—Syndicalism—Capitalism—Co-operation—these are discussed on every side.

It is of the utmost importance in this critical stage of our history that the Catholic principles which underlie social questions should be widely known. Who is to make them known? Not only the clergy but the educated laity, who can so easily ascertain and spread them.

5. We need a great army of volunteers to do various kinds of social work. There is much scope in every parish, and the clergy are constantly appealing for workers. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the Boys’ Brigade and the Boy Scouts require much more support from educated Catholics if they are to do their full work. There is great scope for boys’ clubs if men could be found to run them. The list might be multiplied almost endlessly.

6. Then there are the various branches of municipal work which are described in another chapter of this book. Catholics must come forward in far greater numbers to take up the increasing burdens. If they do not, the Catholic community and the State itself will suffer.

7. And finally we need more Catholic representatives of English constituencies in Parliament, a worthy ambition for men who have the time and talents necessary.

4. MOTIVES FOR ACTION

We need all these things and more. Shall we get them? Surely, if Catholic young men will once grasp the need.

1. Let them consider first that they have simply no option in the matter. If they want to save their souls they *must* help the poor. Our Lord's words are plain. He has told us that this is the condition. The poor stand in His place : they are a kind of second "Real Presence." In serving them we serve Him. This great truth is too often obscured or forgotten.

Now, this service of the poor cannot be performed merely by giving them money. To give money will often be unavailing unless personal service is given too. Not all can give the same amount of personal service, but all can give some, direct or indirect.

2. We are here not only to save our souls but to save the souls of others as well. Now, it is a fact that many are kept from their religious duties by preventable social barriers—want of decent attire, and the like—which it is in our power to remove. It is a fact that many lose their religion when we might help them to keep it. The leakage from the Faith in this country is enormous : and we might do much to stop it.

3. To put it on the lowest ground, social work is extremely interesting. It adds a new zest to life. If you are lonely it will give you company : if you are growing self-centred it will shake you out of your selfishness. You need it for the formation of your character and the right appreciation of life. In it you will find your best self, and your friends, perhaps, will find a better self in you than they had ever expected. Man is a social animal, as Aristotle says : if he tries to live the life of a parasite he will get little solid satisfaction out of it.

5. METHODS

We have seen the needs : now let us consider some methods of meeting them.

First of all, what can be done by boys who are still at school ? Well, they can lay the foundations referred to above. They can build up the habits on which so much will depend later on—supernatural habits and natural habits. But there are certain other things that they can do without going out of their way.

1. A boy has some opportunities for private reading. What use does he make of it? Does he merely fill his mind with magazines, the record of sport and fiction? To do this is to ruin the mental palate and to enervate the mind. The itch for such reading increases, and to give way to it is not to satisfy it. Not on such food can we grow the type of Catholic layman we want.

On the other hand a taste for serious reading may be acquired and is of enormous value, besides being a perpetual source of interest; and one department of literature which boys certainly ought to cultivate is what may be broadly called "social" literature. Try *Across the Bridges*, or *People of the Abyss*, or *Number 5 John Street*, or *Great Catholic Laymen*.

It is a great matter if a boy will even learn to read a newspaper intelligently. There are few without the record or rumour of a strike. Who are the strikers and what they are striking for and what wages they get and what hours they work and how they live and what would happen if wages were raised, and above all, whether the Catholic Church has anything to say about the right to strike, the right to a living wage, the housing of the poor and so on—surely all this should arouse the interest and attention of educated people.

2. In many schools there is a debating-club and the boy who is awake will make good use of it. The educated layman has frequent opportunities of public speaking, and how few there are that can get through it without humming and having, gasping and stopping, losing their thread, missing their point, squirming, contorting their features or otherwise annoying their audience. All this might be got right at school, and *it is worth it*. A boy who leaves school should also know how to do simple things like moving a vote of thanks or conducting a committee meeting.

3. Many of the subjects learnt at school (particularly if "got up" for examinations) are soon forgotten, for the simple reason that we never have any occasion to remember them. Other things are always wanted, and among them is our own language. Learn to write that at school and you will be thankful later on. You may never write a book (though

such an ambition may be cherished) but you will catch hold of people even though it is only by a six line letter to a local paper.

4. When you have read something about social problems you will want to see something of them. You might do worse during the holidays than go and visit a boys' club or a Catholic Settlement or a refuge or workhouse or slum. Ask your priest or some Catholic worker to take you round. Or if you live in London, pay a visit to the Catholic Settlement at 8, Grange Road, Bermondsey, or to the group of Catholic young men who are working at 5, Pier Head, Wapping Old Stairs, E., or to Mr. Norman Potter at St. Hugh's, King's Avenue, Clapham Park. If you are near Liverpool, call at the Catholic Settlement, 41, Salisbury Street. It requires a little enterprise to pay a visit of this kind; but you will not regret it. It is well to send a postcard beforehand and make an appointment.

6. AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL

The kind and amount of social work which can be recommended to those who are leaving school must depend upon circumstances, and circumstances differ enormously. One boy goes to a University, another straight into an office, a third starts studying law or medicine, a fourth does nothing in particular. When confronted by a concrete case one can generally point to some definite little piece of social work that just meets the situation, and one can at the same time show that all the alleged objections to the doing of it are entirely groundless.

Lack of spare cash we have seen to be no disqualification for social work. Lack of time may be a more specious objection, though even here one can point to kinds of work that take very little time indeed.

Some of the possibilities above suggested—S.V.P., Boys' Brigades, Clubs, etc., may be considered. The best plan is to ask one's parish priest for a suggestion. It may be that an evening a week at his Club would, *if persevered in*, be a real help to him. If even this amount of time cannot be spared an occasional visit—to help in a concert or an outing—might be arranged.

Even if there is practically no time for active social work, it is very advantageous to keep in touch with those who *are* working. This is a kind of guarantee that work will be done when time allows. In any case it is desirable to keep abreast of what is going on ; and to provide facilities of this sort to busy people is one of the aims of the Catholic Social Guild, which all are recommended to join. The annual subscription is only one shilling a year and the address is 4, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.

Those who can spare an evening a week for the purpose would do well to get hold of a few friends and start a little Study Club. This may sound somewhat alarming, but it is easily done and is one of the most pleasant and profitable forms of recreation imaginable. The Social Guild has issued a leaflet on *How to organise a Study Circle* which will explain exactly what to do. It will be sent on receipt of a penny stamp. The Guild will supply literature and answer questions.

The Catholic young men of France have formed hundreds of such Study Clubs which are doing an immense amount of good. Such clubs are growing rapidly in England, too : but we need many more. Some account of them will be found in the *Catholic Social Year Book* for 1913, where they are eulogised by Cardinal Mercier and the Archbishop of Liverpool.

The Holy Father has declared that the young men are the hope of France. They are the hope of England, too, and many are watching with sympathetic interest to see how they are going to meet their great responsibility and avail themselves of their splendid opportunity.

CHARLES PLATER.

BOOKS TO CONSULT

- DEVAS, C. S. *Social Questions and the Duty of Catholics*. C.T.S.
3d.
Social Work for Catholic Layfolk. C.T.S. 1s.
Social Work in Catholic Schools. C.T.S. 1d.
Social Work after leaving School. C.T.S. 1d.
List of Books for Catholic Social Students. C.T.S. 1d.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL WORK FOR GIRLS ON LEAVING SCHOOL¹

I HAVE been asked to write on how our girls can take up social service on leaving school, and to indicate a few paths open to them. But first I would urge the necessity of some fuller equipment for their work during their last year of school life, when social study might well be taken up by the elders, and the interested pass on their knowledge to girls in the class below them. If there is not time for class work owing to the exigencies of the school curriculum, there should at least be opportunity for some private study of Catholic economics. Experience shows that our girls compare unfavourably with students from the High Schools, and from distinctively Anglican schools, which students leave not only with some knowledge of sociology, but also with the desire to help their less leisured neighbours ; with a certain *practical* knowledge of *what should be done* and *how to do it*, and a conscience trained to realise that undertaking some social work or engagement involving the comfort of other people, and then failing to fulfil it because an occupation more attractive has presented itself meanwhile, is not a small but a serious failing, including a lapse of principle which harms and lowers the soul, besides making reliable social work a matter of despair to those who organise it. What is possible to them should be even more desirable to us, as our Catholic fellow-workers, being so few in number, need all the help we can give them. With these prefatory remarks I pass on, as space is limited, to a brief summary of what our leisured girls may do, and how they may do it.

The kinds of help a girl may offer are naturally limited by her own environment. She may be required to give all

her time to her home, to the social life of the family, visiting, going about, helping her parents to entertain, etc. Even allowing for this, is there no chance of her aiding humanity by social service? Let us look at several ways which present themselves to the most casual observer :—

1. IN GENERAL

1. *Shopping.* Purchases may be divided into two classes—necessary and superfluous. Some people have only to do with the one kind, some with both, but in each case we can help (*a*) by being courteous, (*b*) by remembering that the saleswoman has a very trying and tiring life ; by avoidance of the habit of giving an immense amount of trouble and buying nothing in the end ! In many shops the saleswoman is blamed if no purchase is made, after much time has been spent in examination of goods ; and if this occurs frequently she is apt to be dismissed in the slack season, or severely reprimanded. Let us remember how much we ourselves dislike unmerited rebuke !

When the weather is hot, shopping is trying to us ; how much more so to those who have to be on their feet for a twelve-hour day, obliged to be willing, attentive and smiling, no matter how their limbs and backs may ache, or how weary they may be of it all. Those of us who ask *kindly* for what we need, showing consideration for the assistant, by adding a few words of thanks at the end of the purchase, help very materially to lighten the burden of the shop assistant. They are human beings, not automata, and they respond to kindness. Even those of us whose lives belong not to themselves, but to their families, can do their shopping *kindly*.

2. *Sweating.* This evil may be fostered in either of two ways : (*a*) Buying from shops which do not give a just wage to the people who work for them, or which pay less than market price for their wares ; and (*b*) making dressmakers and people who work directly for us quote prices which do not give them a fair margin of profit ; beating them down unduly ; giving so little time for our clothes to be made that in order to get them done by a given date, the

workgirls employed have to work after legal hours. A little forethought would obviate this last grievance. Some people imagine that all workers who do "overtime" receive extra money. In dressmaking this is the very rare exception, not the rule; and it is by ordering frocks at a few hours' notice that girls so often do this injustice to the workers, who are mostly girls like themselves—a hardship caused, of course, by want of thought rather than want of heart, but a very real hardship all the same. I have known workgirls obliged to stitch all night (in defiance of the Factory Acts) to finish a lady's dress, the lady having stipulated that "she *must* have it 48 hours after she chose the material." Except in mourning orders (for which most houses keep a special staff) there can be only one excuse for this want of consideration on the part of purchasers, and that is ignorance of the consequences of their selfishness.

3. *Rebuking Servants Unnecessarily.* There are complaints which employers should make, and which should not in justice be withheld, such as want of civility, or honesty, or truth—but we can reprimand in one of two ways, either judicially, impartially and without exaggeration; or on the spur of the moment, when the offence rankles and we perchance "see as we feel" rather than as things really are. Many domestic difficulties would be lightened if we did not administer a rebuke till half an hour after it had been merited. When young servants are dismissed hastily, and receive bad or indifferent characters from their employers, they find it very difficult to get a fresh start, and often in desperation turn to employments which are perilous for their self-respect and morals, thus endangering their eternal salvation. Self-restraint in scolding an employee is a very hard thing to practise, but it is one way in which we can all help our neighbour—a form of social service which is not subversive of discipline in our own households.

4. *Good Example.* Those of us who in youth have not the control of our own lives, are at least the mistresses of our thoughts and words. The more we move about in the world, mixing with our fellow creatures, the larger and wider the sphere of our influence. Are girls aware of how much

power they possess in *forming the public opinion* of those among whom they live? And if they are conscious of this formative gift which is theirs, do they rest content with its possession? Do they use it—or perchance abuse it? The twentieth century is the century of youth: every year that grows more apparent. There is no place for the middle-aged man or woman unless—and it is an “unless” fraught with huge possibilities—by middle age that person has, in some line or other, impressed his or her mark. We must be careful that our mark is clear and clean and shapely, because it is practically indelible; and the mark is the sympathetic influence we have had for good or evil on our surroundings, on “our world.”

5. *Catholic Citizenship.* It is a matter for examination of conscience, probing deep, whether in the industrial life of our nation we, as Catholics, have taken due part. Whether we have lived as citizens, or danced as puppets. Whether we have been awake to the influence of modern civilisation on factories and workshops, or whether we have steadily ignored the whole subject. Are we playing the part in life which God assigned us, or are we merely drifting this way and that, irresponsible because we miss our opportunities? Circumscribed though our lives may be, dull and dreary as we may find them, it is yet in our power by realising the growth of the economic conditions around us, to fill those lives with interest and to add greatly at the same time to the betterment of the conditions under which the majority of our fellow citizens live and work. If our lives are barren of interest it is our own fault. Even those girls who have no time to give to social work can exert “influence” in the ways I have indicated; they can always extract happiness for themselves in thoughtfulness for other people.

6. *Social Study.* The newspapers are filled with letters, articles, accounts of the progress of industrial movements, here and all over the civilised world. The girl who cannot herself do social work can enter by means of books into a sympathetic understanding of “what the worker really wants.” In discussion of the justice or injustice of strikes, the wisdom or unwisdom of proposed legislative remedies

for industrial unrest, "an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory." Still, unless we have theoretic knowledge of what causes social upheavals, unless we study good and *reliable* textbooks bearing on these subjects, we shall not be able to make good use of the experience which may afterwards come our way. We none of us know what the future has in store for us, and the girl who, on leaving school, believes she will never be given a chance of doing social work, may be the very one who, after a few years, by marriage or otherwise, may be plunged into its very vortex. If this is so, she will be thankful for every hour she devoted to reading or studying, and the enlightenment she has gained in her early years by thinking will be an untold help towards *doing* at a time when perhaps it is practical and not theoretic work which is asked of her. So to the girl who cannot, on leaving school, do active philanthropic work, I would say, wait patiently, but learn all the while by reading, studying, and observing, and above all by practising the precept, "The measure that you mete to others shall be measured to you again" in your relations of employer or employed.

2. FOR THOSE WITH LEISURE

We may now turn to another class, those girls to whom on leaving school is given a certain freedom as to how to regulate their lives; those who may dispose of a portion of their day as they choose, and who feel as we all of us must feel, a desire to help our neighbours (in the Gospel sense) to have happier and brighter lives. I would ask such not hastily to embark on any scheme of social work, but to take time and thought to choose not only the kind which is most suitable to their locality, but also the kind that appeals most strongly to themselves. It is not always a wise mortification of self to take up social work which is uncongenial, to force ourselves, say, to visit hospitals, when we do not feel drawn towards the sick; or to join work-parties and sit and sew for the poor when our eyes are always wandering towards the clock and we long for the moment when we can lay down our needle and escape. Social work must be

willing work, whether the will comes by grace or by nature ; what is permanently irksome to us lacks in graciousness and thereby loses efficacy. But we may enumerate a few works that girls can do and leave it to each one to choose the one she likes best, assured that if the *will* to serve is there, the opportunity to serve will be given her.

1. *Hospital Visiting*. Some girls have a genius for bringing happiness to the sick. Their very presence in the ward acts like sunshine, thaws the hardest, soothes the weary, and makes drooping lips to smile. If we ask an older person (say the priest, or an established visitor) to choose the ward we are to visit ; if we are punctual in both coming and leaving so as not to disturb the nursing routine ; if we take a little pains to acquire a stock of anecdotes, short and gay, which we can tell to those who are convalescent, if, above all, we leave self outside the door of the ward, and become listener or talker as the patient wants, then our weekly visit will be eagerly looked forward to, and we shall have our reward in the joy with which we are welcomed, and the sense of something done to ease suffering humanity.

2. *The Infirmarys* are dreary places for the poor, no matter how much care and attention they receive there, because only those go to the infirmaries in whom hope is well-nigh dead. They seek no cures there, they come because they cannot be nursed, owing to circumstances, in their own homes, and theirs are mostly long, grave cases, with but one door of exit. Flowers are much appreciated in infirmaries, and taken great care of. The sick are allowed little extras, and sugar, or tea, or fruit are a great treat to the chronically sick and infirm. Used-up toys are treasured in the children's wards. Newspapers and discarded magazines are passed round from bed to bed till they almost drop to pieces. Writing letters to the invalids' friends at their dictation gives them much consolation. Any girl eager to help will discover fresh pleasures which with a little ingenuity she can devise and bestow.

3. *Girls' Clubs*. These exist in most towns, and the Organisers are ever wanting help, especially the help of the young. Older women deal with the serious side, and do

the home visiting, which is essential for the right understanding of club life ; but just because they are older and may be a little tired out with long years of social work and strain, they cannot bring the life, the energy, the *joie-de-vivre*, which are absolutely necessary if the club is to become the evening home of the working girl. Youth must play and play naturally. It must be keen, eager, excited even, over its games and pastimes. Girls who have just left school can do a very real social service by giving up one night a week to their Catholic parish club. *But*—having made Wednesday their night they must stick to Wednesday and not change constantly. Sometimes when their own amusements come on that night they will be tempted to transfer to another. Unless it is very important and your parents wish it, *don't*. Girls will listen to and be guided by another girl of their own age, where no older person can reach them, and they, owing to the circumstances in which they live, pine and long for some one who can be their get-at-able human ideal. The lady who comes down jaded, tired and often disheartened by failure, with many platitudes and good counsels, but no longer touched by the galvanic spirit of youth, may be their very true friend, but she can never be their ideal. Their ages are too far apart. She has forgotten the games they play, the dangers they run. The sweets that they incessantly suck she probably enjoyed twenty or thirty years ago, but she now ignores how often she too succumbed to the temptation of spending on them the pennies which might better have been otherwise employed. She is very tolerant where they want enthusiasm, very practical while they still dream. Life is budding to them and they want to explore the heart of the rose, not to be told what it will look like when faded. So that young ladies fresh from school, filled with life, fun and laughter, are the models on which a working girl readily tries to form herself—she gives hero-worship and loyalty ; in return, our just emancipated schoolgirl can strengthen her in the Catholic tone and principles which are so easily discarded in the atmosphere of the modern workroom. I have known many working girls who have told me all they owed to the

influence of the young ladies who came one night a week to their Club, an influence which has been lifelong, and has saved countless girls from that first downward step which is so easy when you are hard tempted, but which invariably leads to a lower level in the beginning, in the end to despair. To have helped one working girl through difficult times is surely a big social service, and all it calls for is sympathy in understanding, and sometimes quite wholesome, if hard, sacrifice regularly to keep the engagement of one's night at the Club. No one need fear to find the time there long, there is never time long enough for all the willing worker is asked to do. And an escort is easily found for her among the older girls, to see her home.

4. *Correspondence.* Some girls may dislike hospital or infirmary visiting and feel that girls' clubs are not in their line. Have they perhaps a taste for quiet study? Could they not use their knowledge to give some one pleasure—perhaps by correspondence to help some girl who is struggling to educate herself in some far-off village that she may solve the problems which their higher education has made easy. Many girls have been helped by other girls to pass the exams which have hitherto been stumbling-blocks to their advancement. I remember hearing of a young typist who kept her invalid mother and herself on 12/- a week, being helped by a clever Girton friend of mine to master French commercial correspondence, and the joy shared by teacher and pupil alike when the latter wrote announcing that she had proved successful in getting a post in a commercial house as French typist at a pound a week, and “now we can move into a room where mother can sometimes see the sun.”

5. *Secretarial Work.* There are many Catholic charities where offers of secretarial work would be gratefully accepted. And this is generally asked for in the mornings, which leaves the remainder of the day clear for other pursuits. Help could be offered to overworked honorary secretaries, to people organising bazaars or concerts. Girls might volunteer to copy out cases needing help, in secretarial and information bureaux; they could do card-indexing, sort

libraries of Children of Mary or guilds, repair books and music for voluntary church choirs, in fact there is no end to the social service which a girl might give, and ought to give, to the innumerable works crying out for workers and for lack of them starved almost out of existence. If a girl, say of eighteen, were to sit down for half an hour on leaving school and think *seriously* of what she might do to help her fellow Catholics to make their religion a more powerful lever in God's cause than it is at present—and if having sorted and enumerated those acts of service (striking out those which her parents object to or which clash with home duties) she should select *one* to be conscientiously carried out each week for a year, I can promise that girl on the word of a Catholic fellow-worker that she will never regret it, and that the memory of the hours she gave to others will be the memory which will brighten the years when “she would if she could, but she no longer may.”

“The measure that we mete to others shall be measured to us again.”—What is the measure of our economic responsibility to those less dowered than ourselves, and how best can we fill that measure to overflowing?

FLORA KIRWAN.

BOOKS TO READ AND STUDY

Handbook of Practical Economics. By T. Schrijvers, C.S.S.R.
Sands & Co. 5s.

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Catholic Principles of Social Reform. C.T.S. pamphlet. 1d.

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The Responsibilities of Leisure. By the Hon. L. Montagu.
3d. National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, 118, Great
Titchfield Street, W.

Newspaper and Citizen Classes. 2d. Same publishers.

- Pope Pius X on Social Reform.* C.T.S. 1d.
Home Industries of Women in London. The Women's Industrial Council, 7, John Street, Adelphi. 6d.
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Clubs for Working Girls. By Hon. Maude Stanley. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.
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CATHOLIC STUDIES IN SOCIAL REFORM

A SERIES OF MANUALS
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THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD

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VI.
CHRISTIAN
CITIZENSHIP

BY THE
REV. THOMAS WRIGHT.

With an Introduction by the Right Rev. Bishop
McIntyre, D.D., Rector of the English
College, Rome

LONDON
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INTRODUCTION¹

BY THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP MCINTYRE, D.D., RECTOR
OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME.

No one can have failed to observe that, all around us there has been an upheaval of the public conscience against the miseries that oppress the masses. Agencies of every form and of every kind are being multiplied on every side in order to introduce, if possible, a better system for the sake of the people ; and, while all these agencies are busily at work, I am quite sure that we Catholics will neither join the sons of rest, nor form ourselves into sleeping circles.

There are four points to consider in reference to the duties that Christian Citizenship places upon us. They are—first, what we mean by a man of public spirit ; next, what is the most fruitful order in which our public spirit can be exercised ; thirdly, where shall we find the wisest and the safest guidance for its operation, and fourthly, where shall we look for its most effective inspiration.

I begin then, by sketching my idea of a man of public spirit. First of all, he is a man who looks upon life as something serious and not to be wasted. He is a man who does not measure the value of life by the amount of entertainment he can get out of it,

¹ The Substance of an Address on "Public Spirit" at the Birmingham Catholic Reunion, January 20, 1914.

but rather by the amount of good he can do by employing it. Next, a man of public spirit is one who has a strong element of what I may call grateful generosity in his composition. He is a man quick to recognize how much he himself owes to the kindness, to the labour and to the self-sacrifice of others ; and in that recognition is inspired himself to make a return of kindness to the common stock. In the sphere of civic life he is a man who knows something of the lives of the great benefactors who have lived in his native land and the great philosophers ; and he studies their history in order that he may grow ashamed to be a drone in society. In the sphere of religion he is a man not unmindful of the blood of the Martyrs, a man who knows the labour and the zeal of our great missionaries, a man who is appreciative of the generous and unfailing services of our great religious orders ; and above all, I would say, he is a man who recognizes the solicitude and the daily ministrations of our parochial clergy. To sum up : a man of public spirit is one who bears in mind the benefits that have been continually and are being continually, brought to him by the generosity of other men ; and who, if he were not to make a return himself, would feel degraded in his own conscience.

Now, there are two great publics to which the public spirit of a man has reference. The first is that public which we call the commonwealth ; the second is that public which we call the Church. The one labours for the material well-being of man : the other for his spiritual well-being. The one tries to make the earth perfect for man ; the other tries to make man perfect for heaven. When things are well balanced the two powers work in perfect har-

mony. The man of public spirit throws himself heart and soul into the work of both. He is willing to take his share of labour, with his fellow-citizens, for the benefit of his own city, just as he is ready to help on those who are engaged in the noble work of building up the Kingdom of God on earth.

A man devoid of public spirit is one who can go on continually devouring benefits—every benefit he can get from the hands of others—without being spurred on to do anything he can for the common good; and while receiving and not giving, feels no shame.

That is my idea of a man of public spirit. He is a man who does not shut himself up in the narrow circle of his own private interests, his own selfish pleasures; but, remembering with gratitude all that he has received from others, has no heart to be a universal debtor. A man without public spirit is a moral bankrupt. I assume, then, that we have public spirit, and that we want to exercise it.

The second point is: in what order can our public spirit be exercised most fruitfully? Now, there are some men, with such comprehensive souls, that they love the whole world. To hear them talk, they wish to benefit the whole world. A keen-witted writer of a long bygone age saw how much deception there may be in many of these broad professions. He said—as a drop of water spread over too wide a sphere disappears, so our benevolence, if exercised in too wide a sphere, becomes absolutely useless. There are some men, he goes on to say, who reason themselves into false sentiments and so pursue virtues that are splendid rather than useful. Here, then, are two thoughts about which I am going to say a word. First, there are those who pursue

virtues that are splendid rather than useful. Have we not met such people? I have met many—men who tell me they are ready to lay down their lives, to shed their blood, for King and Country, and for the Faith. To such a man I am always tempted to say, “instead of laying down your life and shedding your blood, are you ready to lay down your drunkenness for the honour of your country?”—and “are you ready to lay down your laziness and do some good with, and for, others?—are you ready to lay down your ignorance, and try to fit yourself to be a useful member of society?” These are the people who offer us those splendid virtues which we do not want, and refuse us the useful virtues which we do want.

Next you will observe, that the writer I have quoted speaks of those who reason themselves into false sentiments. Every one who has read Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* will remember the famous character of Mrs. Jellaby. She had a passion for works of amelioration over the whole world, and, as the story goes on, she engages in schemes for the regeneration of the tribes on the left bank of the Niger; and, while she has dreams of raising coffee plantations and of educating the natives, her own home is going to rack and ruin. That is a sample of those who reason themselves into false sentiment. Her sentiment ought to have been in her own home before it went travelling through the African continent.

One reads in these days a great deal of what is called “the solidarity and the brotherhood of man.” There is a deep sense in which these phrases are true; but in much of what I have read about the solidarity and brotherhood of man, and the consequences

that are drawn from those ideas of solidarity and brotherhood, I have been less impressed by the solidarity of man than by the hollowness of the writers' brains.

Our public spirit should begin with something practical, with something at home. A man's first exercise of public spirit is to perform his duty to his own family, and next, to his own city. If every man set right his own family, if all citizens set right their own cities, then from those particularities the general good would result. It is true that public spirit, like charity, begins at home ; but I do not desire it to stay there always. It may come out of doors and do work outside. What I insist upon is this : that in our public spirit there should be order. I do not object to a man having ideals and lofty views, even to the verge of madness, if only he puts some method into his madness.

I have said that all around us there are generous men carrying on agencies of active good for the benefit of the common people ; but, unfortunately, those agencies are not all in agreement. Some of them are even in deadly antagonism ; so that we find amongst them those who believe that if others carried out what they desire to carry out they would bring into society evils greater than those they are professing to remove. Amid people of such discordant views, I can understand how many a man of public spirit may find himself utterly bewildered. To whose views ought he to listen ? Whose advice ought he to follow ?

And that brings me to my third point, which is : Where can our public spirit find wise and sure guidance ? Now there is in this world a society which has laboured for the good of man, in every age and

in every part of the world ; which has come in contact with men, under every form and variety of civilization : a society by which you understand me to mean the Catholic Church. I am not going to speak of the supernatural character of the Catholic Church, or of her divine guidance. I put all that on one side. I take the Catholic Church simply as an institution with human experience, and I look at her in the light of that human experience.

Looking at her in the light of her experience, Mr. Belloc used the remarkable phrase, that "the Catholic Church is an expert in men." I hope you will remember that phrase : "the Catholic Church is an expert in men." Where in this world will you find any other institution with such a wealth of accumulated experience as is possessed by the Catholic Church ? We know that human experiences repeat themselves, and that there is nothing new under the sun ; therefore, if you wish to know what to do, at a time of crisis, go to that institution which remembers the history of the world.

The broad principles, which have been acquired by that long experience of the Catholic Church, have been set forth in the admirable letters of the great Pontiff Pope Leo XIII. I would say that in those letters you have the accumulated experience of the social action of all civilized men. If, further, you desire to learn how to apply those broad principles to the varying and complicated conditions of our social life I would recommend you, at the outset, to study the well-considered productions of the Catholic Social Guild. For guidance, then, in our public spirit it is safest and wisest to follow the lessons of experience, especially when the teachings of experience have been set forth, as in

the Catholic Church they are set forth, in the light of divine truth.

I come to my fourth point ; and it is this : “ Where shall we find the source of the most effective inspiration of our public spirit ? ” I have already referred to those who speak much of the solidarity and brotherhood of man ; and who tell us that this solidarity and this brotherhood are self-sufficing and need no other basis. They require no idea of God or religion to elevate them. Consequently, there are now men who say to the Catholic Church : “ Preach, if you will, about heaven and about the way of going to heaven ; but leave us to look after the earth by ourselves. Don’t try to hamper us, by bringing in and imposing upon us those laws by which, you say, we may get to heaven.” They say, then, that in the very idea of man himself there is a sufficient inspiration of public spirit, and they deliberately exclude from the inspiring motives of public spirit all thought of God, and all sense of responsibility to God.

But we hold that the most enduring source of inspiration of public spirit is to be found in Catholic doctrine, and that there is no basis of brotherhood, so true, so noble, so enduring, so effective, as that which is found in the Son of God made Man. Men say to us “ Shut out the idea of heaven, and we can progress more freely.” I say, if you shut out the idea of heaven you are shutting out what has been a most effective inspirer of human civilization. I am not going to enter into any theological or ecclesiastical argument, but I will set before you two plain facts : the one, a fact of history ; the other, a fact of your own experience. In history, there were two great nations most illustrious in the

order of civilization—ancient Greece and ancient Rome. These certainly did not trouble themselves about heaven. They believed in the earth, and concentrated all their efforts in getting the best that could be got out of the earth. They had an ideal—an ideal of brotherhood—which was to be an unfailing inspiration of public spirit. That ideal of brotherhood was found in the State. And what was the result? The idea of the State became a monster without heart, to which all private rights were sacrificed, so that ancient Greece, and ancient Rome came to be based upon slavery. Such was the condition of things when the Catholic Church came upon the scene, and when she was strong enough to raise her voice effectively, she taught men that the people were not created for the good of the State, but that the State exists for the good of the people.

Are we free from that danger now of being sacrificed to an abstraction called the State, whereas the State should exist for our good? Mr. Belloc has declared that now, through the forgetfulness of higher things, the same principles are at work, and are bringing back a "servile State." I could illustrate it by many examples, but I will give only one. Are not our parental rights outraged, are not our rights of conscience set aside, on behalf of a uniform system of education which is called State education? As soon as men begin, in one department, to take away our natural rights, on behalf of what they call the State, we may depend upon it they will use the same plea of the State to take away our rights in other departments too. All I ask at present is this: Have we sufficient public spirit to resist?

That is the fact of history. I come now to the second fact—the fact of our own experience. Here and there throughout the world we find communities of men and women who are labouring day and night, the whole year through, to meet every form and variety of human want and distress. They enter upon this work, not as a lucrative profession, but as the devotion of their lives ; and, in order to give stability and permanence to their labour, they bind themselves to it by solemn vow before heaven.

Where can we find a purer public spirit, a more effective public spirit, a more disinterested public spirit than in the works of our religious orders ? And what is the source of their inspiration ? Is it the earth ? Is it because they do not think of heaven ? Ah ! they are so effective mainly because they do think of heaven. They are filled with public spirit because they feel they have a brotherhood with others through communion with Christ our Lord. This is the spirit in which all Catholics should work : given that spirit in its reality, self-devotion, order and prudence in action will assuredly follow.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

CHAPTER I

THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN

§ 1. THE CITIZEN

A CITIZEN may be described as a member of a State. Man does not at his mere discretion become a member of a State. He is impelled thereto by an instinct of nature. To be fully a man he recognizes that he must live with his fellow-men. This living with one's fellows constitutes the ground of citizenship. He gives as well as receives, and so may be said to live *for* as well as *with* his fellow-man. If isolated, his efforts to develop his material well-being, essential to him for the perfection of his personality, fall short of their mark. In order that man may be emancipated from the thralldom of conscious actual weakness, he casts in his lot with others and readily unites with them as a member of the moral body, the State. Not that the State absorbs the citizen. Far from destroying or lowering the individuality of the citizen, true citizenship rids him of the weakness due to isolation and reinforces his strength by combination. It is to live a fuller life that he lives with his fellow-men. His manhood expands and is enhanced through citizenship. To be a real man he becomes a citizen.

§ 2. MATERIALISM AND CITIZENSHIP

Never did greater confusion exist respecting the terms "citizen" and "citizenship" than is to be seen to-day. The prevalence of false ideas concerning the authority and functions of the State, the relation between Church and State, liberty and patriotism, and consequently concerning

the spirit of citizenship itself, is largely accountable for the many grievous ills affecting society. To the extreme individualists in economics material prosperity constitutes happiness, and the greed which this view fosters has meant the sacrifice of the dignity, the manhood and the lives of multitudes of poorer citizens. In the opposite camp are drawn up the Socialists, who, in extending a befriending hand to the worker, would make him unduly subordinate to the State. The principles of right and duty, of justice and law, have become so attenuated in the minds of many that little of their influence remains. Whenever humanity is staggered by appalling evils, public opinion will for the moment veer round to the old and sound morality, and then the sweated labourer is found to possess a human worth and the "White Slave" is protected against a nefarious traffic. Public life, however, has been and is thoroughly vitiated by a deep-rooted selfishness. The interests of self or class occupy so prominent a place that the grander vision of the welfare of the community at large is rendered impossible. If basic principles respecting the natural order are thus vaguely understood, we cannot wonder that religion as a civilizing force is no longer esteemed of value, but is often condemned as effete. Amongst many religion is only worth the votes it may influence at the polls, and to that degree it finds champions on the public platform and is cried up by the Press. Citizenship has largely severed its alliance with Christianity. A citizen can and will try to satisfy the obligations of his citizenship without the aid of religion. Modern modes allow men to possess, if they desire, two outfits. They may wear what garb of religion best suits their taste within their domestic circle, but outside its narrow limits they don a cloak of secularism, for the world holds religious fashions out of date. The Christian citizen in the eyes of such men is reckoned a mediæval reactionary.

What conclusion this materialistic view of human existence indicates is clear. With the increasing haze which envelops the primary notions of rights and duties, law and liberty, and with the benefits of religion ignored and discarded, the true significance of the words "citizen" and

"citizenship" has almost vanished. Rightly indeed has Pope Leo XIII described the powers at work:

"Many are they who have tried to work out a plan of civil society based on doctrines other than those approved by the Catholic Church. Nay, in these latter days a novel scheme of law has begun here and there to gain increase and influence, the outcome of an age arrived at full stature and the result of liberty in evolution."¹

§ 3. INFLUENCE OF MATERIALISM ON CATHOLIC IDEALS

Nor has the baneful philosophy of materialism left the minds of Catholics altogether untarnished. There are large numbers of Catholics in this land with but little appreciation of the strong interrelation which exists between true citizenship and Christianity. Not only have we to acknowledge, as M. l'Abbé Garriguet has admitted in regard to France with admirable candour, that "Catholics did not take the initiative in these studies," but that many among us

"are still prejudiced, looking on it as undertaking a dangerous task . . . declaring religion to be a purely personal and private matter. They erect a water-tight partition between religion and all that concerns politics, sociology, commerce and economics. All these spring from human initiative, and not from morality or religion. Some through fear of seeing religion compromised by stooping to the details of everyday life, others dreading lest it should set foot on ground outside its own sphere of influence; others, again, from different motives, ask for it to be relegated 'to the shadow of the sanctuary and the secrecy of the heart.' They would also like to see the clergy sent back to their confessional and their sacristy."²

We do not wish to emphasize our shortcomings unnecessarily. Many excuses, it must be owned, may be alleged in extenuation of the apathy of Catholics towards their civic obligations in these lands. Time, however, has undermined the substance of these apologetic pleas. Catholics are now able to appeal to no sufficient cause why they should stand aloof from public affairs, or why, participating in them, they need indiscriminately follow the policies of parties without

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Immortale Dei," *The Pope and the People* (C.T.S.), p. 66.

The Social Value of the Gospel (C.T.S.), pp. 39-40.

thought or test of their moral justification. The enjoyment of freedom, which the Emancipation Act of 1829 secured to Catholics, and which has allowed them to pass through the difficult days of internal reorganization with extraordinary success, presents to them nowadays a new and wide field of action for the cultivation of their fuller life as Christian citizens. Looseness of teaching, such as we have indicated above, has created a demand on behalf of the State for the civic co-operation of Catholics imbued with the high yet practical aspirations of Christian citizenship. But for Catholics to regard their religion as a "personal and private matter," to break its connexion with commercial enterprise, business dealing, class intercourse and public office, and to pursue the customs set up by an avowedly materialistic world shows above all how instantly the Church appeals to her children to prove their Christian citizenship in its truest and loftiest sense.

§ 4. RELIGION AND CITIZENSHIP

And now let us state explicitly what goes to the making of the Christian citizen. The State, we have said, was never framed to absorb the whole personality of the citizen. In the natural order a man is first an individual and then a citizen. Concretely he is each and both together. The abstract distinction holds good in that no State may justly attempt to claim all the rights of its citizens, but must in practice give precedence to their personal immunities. Where to nature the order of divine grace has been super-added, a man is in dignity first a Christian, then an individual, and lastly a citizen. In the concrete a Catholic, as other men, is an indivisible whole, the whole in his case embracing another and his highest gift—his Catholicism. As a whole he thinks, acts and lives, and his religion, being that which is highest in him, should be the dominating factor in his conduct towards himself and his fellow-man. The fingers of God have interwoven the texture of a Catholic life, and it is not for the Catholic to rend the fine threads asunder. The final end of all human endeavour has been appointed by the Sovereign Lord of man. In reward for man's free

service to Him, God has pledged Himself to bestow upon man eternal beatitude. Though the immediate aim of human activity may be monetary gain, learning, pleasure, public honour, or the enjoyment of power, God cannot approve of any mundane interest diverting the life of man from the direct path to his ultimate destiny. Neither convenience nor utility, neither current philosophy nor common usage may be held to cloak over the enormity of thoughts or words or acts which grievously contravene the divine law promulgated through the channels of conscience and of the Church. A Catholic may not presume, therefore, to be a Catholic at home and whatever else he pleases abroad. Because he is a man and in consequence a citizen, in this twofold capacity he is bound to think, aspire and act as a loyal son of God and member of God's Church. For his development and perfection Christian citizenship is essential.

§ 5. THE DISTINCTIVE VIRTUE OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

The bond which unites Christianity to citizenship evidently requires that the moral teaching of the Christian faith shall be the norm according to which the Christian lives, for himself and for his fellow-countrymen. This rule is as rigid as it is beneficent. The virtue which regulates a purely natural citizenship—it will be explained later—is justice. The difference between Christian citizenship and the highest conception of citizenship in its natural acceptance lies in the fact that duty, law, authority and the common-weal, resultant upon them, are governed not by justice alone, but by justice tempered and inspired by charity. *By charity is not meant doles in money or kind, but a habit of mind and will—a virtue by which man is induced to treat his fellow not merely according to the strict integrity of justice, but also according to that code of respect and love which was inaugurated by the Incarnation, viz., the brotherhood of men in Christ.* The law of justice is incomplete without the law of charity, and in no way does it display its lack so forcibly as in its tendency to descend from a conscientious standard to a sliding scale of selfishness. The exalted place occupied by the virtue of charity has been largely lost sight of by

modern society, and to this ignorance chiefly are to be attributed the flagrant injustices wrought by greed, and the consequent bitterness of interminable class-strife. Honesty in public and in private life has been replaced to a great extent by legal finesse, a riding through the gaps provided by the letter of the law. The law itself is not always above the suspicion of favouring the legislating class, and the administration of the law by government seems to be growing less clean and can no longer be said to be above the pressure of political, social and commercial expediency. In striking contrast to these modern ideals and methods is the dictum of St. Thomas Aquinas: "It is not enough for peace and concord to be preserved among men by precepts of justice unless there be a further consolidation of mutual love."¹ Philanthropy may masquerade as divine charity, but its insufficiency has been discovered; not infrequently is it employed as a palliative of injustice. When charity fails, justice fails too, for justice is bereaved of its guardian. It is the love of one's fellow-man deified in the Person of Christ, and not the vague demands of honour or duty fashioned by dim-sighted justice, which can counteract the promptings of cupidity and the claims of selfishness. "No one is unaware how deeply and from the beginning that precept [of charity] has been implanted in the breast of Christians, and what abundant fruits of concord, mutual benevolence, piety, patience and fortitude it has produced."² The distinctive virtue of Christian citizenship brings the Christian citizen into efficacious sympathy with his fellows by a fulfilment of the second great commandment of the Christian law—the love of one's fellow as oneself for the sake of God. Let us here portray the character of the Christian citizen.

§ 6. THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN³

Among his individual concerns the Christian citizen reckons his personal service of God the chief. The artifi-

¹ *Of God and His Creatures*, translated by Jos. Rickaby, S.J., p. 295.

² Encyclical Letter, "Sapientiae Christianae," *The Pope and the People*, p. 135.

³ To save the constant multiplication of pronouns the Christian

ciality of living, which the age countenances and caters for, and which is prevalent to a greater or lesser degree among all sections of the people, has little attraction for one whose mind is keenly alive to the solemn purport of human existence. Mammon for the worldling, God for the Christian—thus does he sum up his wisdom. Furthermore, after he has learnt the secret of Christian altruism and yearns to spend and be spent for the common good, his prudence teaches him that zeal, devoid of the guidance of religion, tends to lapse into sentimentalism. The more genuinely Catholic he is, the better is he prepared for Christian citizenship.

This governance of himself in accordance with the Will of God, this personal love of Christ, will perforce find its immediate outcome in the rule of his home, in his love of those who, bound by ties of blood, are part and parcel of his own life. In the Catholic family parental affection means parental control as well as parental care; filial piety means obedience as well as love and reverence. No interest excuses the father for shirking the responsibility of headship of the family, just as no proxy can be adequate substitute for a mother's love. Moreover, the sanctity of Christian matrimony not only implies the indissolubility of the marriage bond, but the honesty of marital relations, condemning above all other social crimes the foul practice of race suicide.¹ The Christian citizen is one who fully realizes these facts, and who, apart from a higher call, is glad by an alliance with a worthy help-mate in the faith, to raise up children to God. Experience tells him that the State has no more thorough citizens than those who are reared to the most sincere profession of Christianity.

"If in their early years children find within the walls of their homes the rule of an upright life and the discipline of Christian virtues, the future welfare of the State will in great measure be guaranteed."²

citizen is treated throughout as of the masculine gender. Needless to say, in the sense of our treatise, women are citizens as well: hence *mutatis mutandis* our words apply to them.

¹ See *The Duties of Conjugal Life*, by Cardinal Mercier (C.T.S.).

² *The Pope and the People*, loc. cit., p. 136.

As a result of his conception of the family status, the Christian citizen, if he be an employer, will reverence the human dignity of his employees, and will not seek his gain by defrauding them of their right to a decent livelihood, viz., a living wage and such conditions of work as safeguard health and morals. Should he be an employee, he will return honest work for honest pay, joining respect to a conscientious care of his employer's time and property. With the Christian citizen business in any shape which returns a profit at the expense of straightforward dealing is too dear at the price.

§ 7. THE DUTIES OF WEALTH

The Christian citizen, however, does not restrict his energies to home and business. As a citizen, he is one member of the whole community, and as a Christian his charity extends unto all. Besides his work in the private spheres of home and business, therefore, the Christian citizen realizes that he has impelling duties in the social and political spheres as well. If he needed reminding, Pope Leo XIII has supplied it in an emphatic passage, applying the Parable of the Talents :

"The path of improvement is better assured and more quickly traversed the more we have the co-operation of leading men with their wide opportunities of effectual aid. We would have them consider for themselves that they are not free to choose whether they will take up the cause of the poor or not ; it is a matter of simple duty." ¹

Leisure, wealth, social standing, political and commercial influence urge him to redouble his activities as they multiply his obligations. Selfishness in this regard he shuns as the swallow shuns winter, for selfishness freezes the warmth out of Christian citizenship. He will not leave to others what he is conscious he should do himself. If his capabilities are small and his chances few, he will nevertheless avail himself of them to the best of his ability. If his gifts

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Graves de Communi," *The Pope and the People*, p. 272.

are great and his opportunities many, he will tax himself proportionately. He is a man with a purpose, and his manifold duties, performed with cheerful willingness and fulfilled with persevering exactness, display the chivalry of his Christian citizenship. Hence the accidental differences which divide class from class will not alienate the Christian citizen from his neighbour. While he perceives that a distinction in social ranks is the command of nature, and is not only inevitable in, but for the good of a truly civilized State, he will in practice keep in view the substantial equality of all men before God. Thus will he strive to fulfil the charge laid upon the well-to-do to secure for their fellow-citizens whatever is wanting in those necessities which guarantee frugal comfort, and the spiritual and temporal advantages accruing from this proper minimum. Christian Brotherhood is characteristic of him, the secret force of his life's career. The ill-founded and exaggerated claims of the mere demagogue, the taunts of his own prejudiced class,—neither influence will cause his judgment to shrink from recognizing the truth which social conditions reveal. He will make a point of understanding them thoroughly that he may be able the better to lend voice and aid to their redress. Alert to the mistakes which flow from ignorance, he will school himself by patient study that his labours may be the more fruitful. And thus in his active charitable work he will only have recourse to palliative methods when he cannot apply preventive. Should his opportunities or the promptings of a higher sense of duty urge him to public office, his intimate acquaintance with the needs of his fellow-citizens, together with the principles of Christian justice and charity, will afford him independence of view, which will safeguard him against adopting a policy solely because it is supported by a particular party or popular favour. He is conscious of the responsibility of power, and aware that government to be just must be directed indeed to the good of all classes, but with special consideration towards the poor, whose lot in life is surrounded with exceptional hardships.

As for those citizens whose status precludes civic influence and whose means debar them from the exercise of charity

on a larger scale, they show their Christianity and serve the State by faithful discharge of their duty and respect for the law. And thus they contribute most effectively to the general prosperity, which, in truth, is based upon their labour and endurance.

It is obvious that if the Christian citizen has a noble mission to perform, it is in the circumstances hardly less difficult than noble. He is evidently in the position of one who pulls perpetually against the stream. But, rather than being intimidated by adverse odds, these do but spur him on. Though he is ambitious for his life's work, he is no self-seeker. Single-minded he is glad to make way for his betters, and he welcomes them the more heartily in that through them his ambitions may succeed more thoroughly and speedily. Even as a citizen he does not disdain the guidance and counsel of the divine guardian of morality. Nay, since humility is characteristic of him, the suggestions of authority in those things which come within its sphere find him as prompt to obey as do strict commands, for he does not need to be told that

"it is absolutely inconsistent with Christian profession that anyone should refuse to submit and be obedient to those of superior office in the Church, especially the bishops, whom (without prejudice to the authority of the Roman Pontiff over each and all) 'the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His Precious Blood.'"¹

He will teach by example rather than by words, and since he looks to his Church for his own salvation as for the restoration of civic peace and prosperity, he will ever stand stalwart in her defence, and actively assist her in her progress. In one word, manly Catholicism, a hopeful enthusiasm, not a pessimistic pusillanimity, profession of faith and the principles of faith as open and unflinching in public capacity, exchange, market, office, workshop, street, as in the Church or in the circle of the home—such is the spirit which is alone capable of facing and carrying through the noble ideal of Christian citizenship.

¹ *The Pope and the People*, loc. cit., p. 273.

READINGS ON CHAPTER I

SECTIONS 1, 2 and 3

The Pope and the People, pp. 101-105 and pp. 226-235.

The Social Value of the Gospel, Chapter III, by Garriguet.

Miscellanies. First Series, by Cardinal Manning, pp. 295-323.

SECTIONS 4 and 5

Social Questions and the Duty of Catholics, by C. S. Devas (C.T.S.).

Primer of Social Science, by H. Parkinson, D.D., pp. 227-231.

Cours d'Economie Sociale, by Ch. Antoine, pp. 138-144.

SECTIONS 6 and 7

Catholic Social Work in Germany, by C. D. Plater, S.J.

Switzerland To-day, by Virginia M. Crawford.

Frédéric Ozanam Centenary, Report of the National Celebration
at Manchester, 1913 (St. Vincent de Paul Society).

The Cardinal Democrat, by Ida A. Taylor.

In which several volumes the reader is introduced to the great Catholic citizens, Bishop von Ketteler, Windhorst, Decurtius, Ozanam, and Cardinal Manning.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRISTIAN STATE

"It is not difficult to determine," wrote Leo XIII, "what would be the form and character of the State were it governed according to the principles of Christian Philosophy."¹ In this chapter it will be our essay to explain the meaning of the State—its origin, its functions, its rights, its duties, and its power, in the light of that same Christian philosophy.

§ 1. THE END OF MAN

Since every rational agent acts for an end, and acts well or ill in so far as it tends to or deflects from its proper end, it is necessary, in the discussion of a subject affecting human conduct so seriously as citizenship, to state more explicitly the purpose of human existence. The instinct which urges man to seek happiness in all his conscious act shows in what the end of human life consists. Man has been created for happiness. His endowments of mind and will are boundless in their aspirations. To provide them with the fullness of activity, and at the same time with the rest of security, no limited good suffices. Earthly goods can never engross the heart of man so completely as to ensure him against disappointment or fear of loss. Riches, glory, honour, power, health, beauty, strength, pleasure, even intellectual adornment or moral virtue—these finite goods, whether taken separately or collectively, lack "completeness, sureness and endlessness." They may change or pass away; their full possession is equivalent to the exhaustion of the store of happiness they are capable of affording. The satisfaction of the yearnings of man is therefore to be found only

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Immortale Dei," *The Pope and the People*, p. 67.

in the perfect and everlasting possession of the highest good, which excludes the presence of evil and of disappointment and fear attendant upon its possibility. The sole object which answers to this description is none other than God Himself. God alone is infinitely perfect, and can fill up the void in the human breast completely, surely and endlessly. God is, in consequence, man's ultimate end. When a man in all his conscious deliberate acts tends to God, his life makes for real happiness. Hence the ultimate end of man, God and His law, should condition man's use of every other good. And thus too is it with man taken collectively, with human society. If a man's immediate aim is financial gain, his transaction must be fair according to the dictates of an honest conscience. Similarly if a government legislates for its subjects, however expedient the measure may appear, it is unjust unless it is framed in agreement with the law of God. Happiness in its fullness is not man's lot on earth. Yet how many in searching the causes of misery among human kind discover what is the genuine source of the largest portion? The wilful disregard of God, the fount of man's true happiness, necessarily leads to abundant misery.

§ 2. THE ORIGIN OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Man is by nature a social being. Beings of the same nature have an innate tendency to associate. Misanthropy is unnatural. The instincts of the human heart demand that love shall find its counterpart in love, while the faculty of reason seeks an outlet in interchange of thought. As thought develops thought, so love begets love. Wherefore society implies a union of rational men. Moreover, man's social instinct is quickened by the needs he experiences when isolated from his fellows. Hence human society may be defined as the union between men for their common good.

§ 3. THE FAMILY

The first example of this social unity is provided by the family. In the family the sympathetic natures of man and woman are cemented in a combination of mind and will to

a common interest. The family is defined as the union between husband and wife for the procreation and upbringing of children. The instinctive attraction between the sexes would prove a frail bond were it not supplemented by the strength of the rational affection of husband and wife, intensified by the love of their children. Nowhere in all human relations does nature unfold itself in a more intimate and sincere intercourse. The affection of the home calls forth the ready energies of father, mother and children to their mutual help and support.

We are not here called upon to trace the growth of the family through the mazes of its history. We take the historic fact. Man, the world over, claims marriage as his inborn right. What springs thus spontaneously from man's nature has manifestly been rooted there by the Author of nature, the Creator of man's being. Furthermore, once the contract between man and wife has been entered on, its binding force by divine ordinance is lifelong. The object of the family relation would be largely frustrated if the matrimonial contract were terminable either at the will of the parties or by legal decree. For the maintenance of trustful and abiding affection between husband and wife, reason demands the unity of marriage, and no less clearly the interests of its offspring demand its indissolubility. The family—its existence and its perpetuation—has been ordained of God. It is the first expression of the social instinct of man, emanating from the fountain-head of his social nature, and to invade its sanctity by annulling its bond, or to encroach on the province of parenthood by unjust laws is to weaken the foundation of human society.

The importance of the family relation can hardly be over-estimated. Through the family national traditions are handed down from generation to generation. From the economic standpoint "the family is the pre-requisite of production, the ordinary unit of enjoyment, the foundation of national welfare and greatness."¹ The greatest benefit of the family as a social organization, however, lies in its moral worth. In the family the citizen is not only born

¹ *Political Economy*, by C. S. Devas, p. 168.

but trained. Love of and consideration for others, obedience, patience—in a word, all that tends to develop character belongs especially to the home. The spirit of the home pervades the greater society, the State. The State depends for order, peace and prosperity in a very large measure upon the high standard of moral education maintained by the family.

§ 4. THE CHRISTIAN HOME

This consideration brings us straightway to the influence of Christianity on the family. Since, as we have seen, God has destined man to a supernatural end, and has provided him, through the dispensation of the New Law, with the means by which that end is to be accomplished, it is but reasonable to expect that an institution so powerfully instrumental in the shaping of human life as the family would be given solemn ratification by Christ. The Christian religion has, in truth, exalted the natural contract of matrimony to the dignity of a Sacrament. The union between husband and wife is typified in the union of Christ and His Church. In insistence on this fact, more than in any other way, resides the secret of the civilizing power of Christianity. The family, bereft of Christianity, speedily falls from the height of its security, despite the strength of the natural law to sustain it. How degraded the family ideal may become, how distorted the relations between its members, history has borne sad testimony. Christianity transformed family life. It manifested the true worth of wife and children in the eyes of God, and thus broke the dreadful tyranny which paganism permitted to the father. If, as Christianity insists, the headship of the family is still invested in the father, the subjection of the wife is not that of a servant but of a social equal, and the obedience of children to their parents is dictated by affection and gratitude.

In raising the family to a higher plane, Christianity has imposed upon parents a vast responsibility. No longer can they satisfy their duty by rearing and educating their children merely according to the prescription of nature. Christianity exacts that they rear and educate children to God.

In the practice of virtue after Christ's example, and in accordance with the two precepts of charity towards God and one's neighbour, lies the chief function of the Christian home. Virtue practised for its intrinsic value, not as a mere lubricant of social intercourse—chastity, obedience, humility, truthfulness, honesty, temperance, forbearance, fortitude, self-sacrifice—such is the proper characteristic of those who are really of the household of faith. When the cultivation of strong habits, holding passion by bit and curb, and spurring the noblest faculties to the noblest acts, is the aim of education in the Christian family, it is clear not merely how necessary is the Christian family to the Christian State—for a State is as its citizens—but how important a factor in genuine civilization is Christianity.

§ 5. THE NUCLEUS OF THE STATE

The nucleus of the State is the family. "Whether you consider the origin or the end of the domestic society, the family," writes Antoine, "you are bound to arrive at the same conclusion—civil society is constituted by the immediate union of families."¹ In the State the sociability embedded in man's nature is given its full expansion. While the domestic society is complete and independent as a society, as a working force its limitations are quickly evinced. The constitution of the family may be compared to a solitary regiment pitted against an overwhelming enemy. In organization it is perfect, but it needs reinforcement for the effectual exercise of its fighting powers. Alone, the regiment not only cannot prosecute its end, but it is in danger of annihilation. Wherefore, by an intuition prompted by his natural social instinct, and by the drawbacks experienced in isolation, man perceives that for family to dwell apart from family is to thwart the development of mental and moral faculties and to make practically impossible the supply of material wants. That "the rudimentary state is prior to the developed family"² embodies an historic fact

¹ *Cours d'Economie Sociale*, by Ch. Antoine, p. 97.

² *Political and Moral Essays*, by Joseph Rickaby, S.J., p. 25.

showing how the family realized the weakness due to lack of combination.

The gift of existence carries with it what is necessary for its preservation and development, viz., certain fundamental rights. Under ordinary conditions every individual has the rights to life, to moral integrity, to a fair reputation, to freedom in making contracts, to the acquisition of property, to honest association, e.g., Trade Unionism, to independence proper to true family existence, and to the exercise of religion. It is true that these moral claims, saving those of moral integrity and the free exercise of religion, are alienable in abnormal circumstances, i.e., they may be either sacrificed voluntarily, or, as in case of punishment, compulsorily taken away. Still, in general, these rights have to be maintained. Since experience proves that a spontaneous recognition and fulfilment of the duties corresponding to these rights is not to be expected, some authority is imperative to determine the extension and limit of right and duty, and no less essential is the existence of some power adequate to enforce the decisions of authority. Otherwise might would call itself right, tyranny would abound, and civilization would be impossible. Hence reason declares the association of families by means of the organized body, the State, necessary both for the development of human faculties and for the preservation of human rights.

Nor are these rights threatened merely by internal discord. Assuming that a number of families, tied together by bonds of blood, tradition and common interest, have taken up their abode on fixed territory, the dread of invasion by another group of families, unless association provided sufficient means of defence, would paralyse progress. Consequently families are pressed by rigorous exigencies of nature to coalesce with other families, for they depend on each other to maintain themselves independent of those outside their boundaries.

Self-protection, however, takes the family-group but little distance upon the road to its perfection. Were the union of family to family to have no further result, self-protection—though army, navy, courts of law and con-

stabulary may be competent enough for their respective duties—amounts to hardly more than a negative good. As we shall revert to this matter, we need not follow the argument here: it is enough to state that material well-being and cultured life, the procuring of possible good and the pursuit of progressive prosperity, necessitate the combined endeavour of united families. Nature voicing the needs of the individual and the family has called forth the State.

§ 6. THE STATE DEFINED

A State is defined as: a natural and perfect society, constituted by the union of families, subject to a supreme authority and combining to the common good. A State is the natural expansion of the social instinct, which leads to the union of families. The two societies do, in point of truth, bear a close resemblance. If the family differs widely from the State in so much as it possesses, from the Christian standpoint, a loftier and nobler purpose: if the family strikes deeper into the nature of man, and both in idea and in fact exists prior to the State, still the State, like the family, is a need of nature. Moreover, they are mutually dependent, for without the family the State cannot be, and without the State the family cannot prosper. Different as their proper ends are, both are means to man's true good as a denizen of earth and an heir to heaven, since by the aids they severally provide they enable him to attain the object of his creation.

Again, the State is a "perfect society." It is not only self-contained but self-sufficient. It holds every needful right and power for the accomplishment of its proper object. In the natural order it has its peers but owns no superior. The laws of another State do not touch it, except in so far as they may affect its individual citizens, as in the case of tariff laws. The State is sovereign by its constitution: in its own sphere supreme in authority from within, and immune from interference from without.

"The union of families" forms the substance of organized civil society or the State.

"Combining for a common good" declares in part wherein

the soul of the moral body, the State, resides. The life of the State is due to the co-ordination of the wills of its citizens for their common good. The direct aim of the State is neither the exclusive advantage of individuals nor of a particular class. The good, which it is the office of the State to protect and promote, must be referable to all its citizens. This does not mean that the State is to treat all classes of its subjects exactly alike. Just as the special sympathy and care of parents for a sick child are not prejudicial to their love of their healthy children, so the greater concern of the State for the poor reveals its high conception of justice. Moreover the powers of the State are exercised on the material, intellectual and moral goods in so far as directly conducive to temporal happiness. Should a citizen in utter disregard of God abuse the blessings of earthly peace and prosperity and set his heart upon them as the term of human happiness, the State, so long as there is no encroachment upon the rights of others and no infringement of public morality, has no power either to check or reprove his iniquity. The State has no jurisdiction over the consciences of its citizens. Its concern is with what is exterior and temporal. Consequently the State may not interfere with the practice of religion or the worship of God : indeed, it is incumbent on the State, seeing that it owes its existence to God, to recognize that

“ one of its chief duties must be to favour religion, to protect it, to shield it under the credit and sanction of its laws, and neither to organize nor enact any measure that may compromise its safety.” ¹

If, as Pope Leo XIII affirms, it is wrongful on the part of the State “ not to have a care for religion on the pretence of its being something beyond its scope or as of no practical benefit,” ² much more grievous is it to level down religion to the position of a pawn in politics and to persecute or proscribe it.

¹ Encyclical Letter, “ *Immortale Dei*,” *The Pope and the People*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*

§ 7. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

(a) Primary Function

The combination of the whole body of citizens to promote the common good leads us to inquire in what the precise functions of the State consist. These functions are twofold, corresponding with the twofold needs of the individual and the family, viz., the one primary and in a sense negative, for the protection of rights ; the other secondary and positive, for the promotion of the common well-being.

The primary function of the State involves the duty of particularizing by law the general rights founded in nature. If the rights of property were undefined, an immediate and permanent occasion of strife would be created. The legislation of one State will vary from that of others ; the laws of the same country may and will differ from age to age. This does not imply that they are just at one period and unjust at another. Rather is it evidence that in accordance with the varying circumstances, justice prevails in both instances. But to determine rights would be no guarantee of their observance, unless the State is able to give an effectual sanction to its will. Hence within the scope of this primary function must be accounted the establishment of army, navy, diplomatic service, law courts and police. The common good demands that disputants shall have their claims adjusted by means which are at once peaceful and decisive. The disturber of the peace too, whether in the guise of domestic criminal or foreign invader, must needs be effectively suppressed. The law court and prison will secure society against the former ; a competent army and navy will save the nation against the latter. Without the right to the exercise of administrative and coercive powers the primary function of the State would result merely in formulæ, red-tape and pigeon-holes.

(b) Secondary Function

The secondary function of the State is to advance the moral, intellectual and economic development of its members. The State, in order to realize its end—public temporal

good—will necessarily strive to foster the initiative and energy of its subjects. From an economic standpoint this function will therefore include

“the promotion of industry in general by making or helping roads, bridges, canals, railways, by postal and telegraph service, by weights and measures and coinage, by institutions of credit, by re-forestation and other reclamations of waste, by home and foreign colonization. . . .

“The public good may further require the promotion of particular industries by protective duties and bounties and by model farms, example plots, experimental stations, governmental technical schools for art industries, horticulture, agriculture and fisheries.”¹

The same function likewise comprises trade-treaties, and also the provision of hospitals, asylums, poor-law institutions where private effort fails to cope with needs, as well as the stipulation of hygienic conditions, etc., under which labour is to be conducted. It is to be remarked in passing that the secondary function of government places the State, not in the position of direct producer, the monopolist of commerce and industry, but as the helper of production. Nationalization of the means of production may be pressed to extremes, so that the State grows from the promoter to the aggressor of its citizens' rights.

On the intellectual side the secondary function of the State is not only to supply, at the public cost, the shortcomings of those of its citizens who are unable to provide for their children's education, and to insist on such a modicum of training for all as shall prevent them from being a cause of social weakness, but also to encourage “literature, science, art by museums, libraries, collections of works of art, schools of sculpture, painting, music, government theatres and public concerts.”² Here again the State may offend by excess: first, there may be needs with more urgent claims on public expenditure; secondly, taxation for such purposes may be out of due proportion.

Far more essential to the stability of the State and to the

¹ *Political Economy*, by C. S. Devas, p. 574.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 573.

peace and happiness of its citizens than the development of ways and means to material prosperity and cultured life is the maintenance of public morality. The secondary function of the State embraces above all the encouragement of civic virtue and the suppression of public vice. When morality is held cheap by a people, their national life has begun to decay. The loss of self-respect and the consequent degradation have removed the real title of the State to civilization. "Nations and even vast empires themselves," the late Pope wrote in solemn warning, "cannot long remain unharmed, since upon the lapsing of Christianity institutions and morality, the main foundation of human society, must necessarily be uprooted."¹

The virtue which stands as the bulwark of the State is called "general justice." The term justice is used variously. Thus justice is named "distributive" when it belongs to the ruler of a community whose office binds him to share out the common goods and to impose the common burdens according to the merits and the deserts, the need and the plenty, of his subjects. Distributive justice enforces fairness, for instance, in the awards of public honour and in the regulation of taxation; it prohibits such crimes as municipal jobbery. Justice is called "commutative" when it preserves the strict balance between the personal rights of two private individuals or parties. Justice in this sense condemns evils like gambling hazards and unscrupulous lying on the Stock Exchange, the floating of bogus companies and secret commissions as no less criminal than the offences for which most of the thieves at Dartmoor are incarcerated. Justice in these two meanings, if properly observed, would take public morality some considerable distance, yet by no means all the way, to its perfection. *For uprightness of living sufficient to ensure the common good, there is needed a virtue, which is, as it were, "a compound of the other virtues, so that it should be identified with them."*² This virtue is designated "general justice," and in so far

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Sapientiae Christianae," *The Pope and the People*, p. 103.

² *Conscience and Law*, by W. Humphrey, S.J., p. 175.

as it is used to direct the conduct of subjects to the well-being of the State, it is termed "legal justice."

General or legal justice, then, embracing all virtues such as chastity, temperance, fortitude, is the mainstay of public order, peace, and prosperity. Without it success in colonization, in commerce, in art, in literature and so forth, is a mere counterfeit. It is true that legal justice rests chiefly in the Government, for the duty of determining the mode by which the common good is to be attained belongs to the ruling power in the State. Nevertheless, though the Government acts up to its high responsibility and makes the cultivation of public morality its principal concern, the administrators of legal justice are the subjects. Herein lies the extreme difficulty of a State in the exercise of its most salutary function, once the moral sense of its subjects has become debased. The State is no judge of conscience. It may regulate the lives of its subjects only to that degree that makes for public peace and order. If it enjoins chastity and temperance it is solely because unnatural crime, violence and drunkenness are inimical to the public well-being. The one motive which it upholds is that of the commonweal—a motive which does not touch the selfish and inconsiderate. Where the morality or the immorality of its members constitutes the alternative of life and death to the State, its limitations in coping with a widespread moral decadence emphasize its sorry plight. The general immorality of the citizens, which a distraught Government may be helpless to withstand, points, however, to no essential defect in the natural constitution of the State. The doom of the State in that case is not due to its inherent shortcomings, but to a disintegration of its constituent parts, and especially to corrupt family life. A State may emerge more vigorous and happy from a political or constitutional crisis, but there is no recouping of strength when moral rottenness has worn out the healthy existence of the family. Mere outward force is comparatively feeble, and more often hastens than retards the evil day. Were the truth of all this understood and acknowledged, we should hear less in these times about eugenics, economics, State intervention, nationalization, and more about the religion of Christ.

§ 8. CIVIL AUTHORITY¹

And finally, we come to the discussion of the last, but much disputed constituent of the State—the supreme authority. The State we have defined to be a natural and perfect society constituted by the union of families subject to a supreme authority, and combining for the common good. Supreme authority is fundamental. The concrete State begins to be when its citizens, combining for their common good, are directed to that end by subjection to a supreme authority.² The principle is equally true in every legitimate form of government, whether an absolute or constitutional monarchy, an oligarchy or republic.

Authority is the right to direct by efficacious rule the members of a society to their common end. Civil authority is the supreme power of direction invested in the Government. Now a Government's moral claim to rule implies the duty of obedience on the part of its subjects. Obedience is no disparagement of a citizen's liberty. The universal instinct which draws man to the family and the family to the State makes for his development and perfection. To pursue intelligently his perfection is not to lessen but to enhance his dignity. The force of civil authority is, therefore, the power of moral constraint. The citizen who respects his own liberty chooses freely to obey the supreme authority of the State, because the State is necessary for his betterment.

To call a people "law-abiding" implies contentedness, and consent to be governed. For the refractory supreme authority is armed with the power to coerce by penalties. Still, coercion is civil authority at tension. Civil authority is in essence a moral influence, inducing an obligation in the consciences of citizens to obey. The more hearty the good-

¹ "Local government is, in fact, a department of imperial government, an overflow and particular application of sovereignty, not a distinct power."—*Political and Moral Essays*, by Jos. Rickaby, S.J., p. 53.

² For convenience the word "State," which in itself includes the whole community, the rulers and the ruled, will generally be used to denote the former only.

will of the citizens towards the State, the healthier and more vigorous is the life of the State.

An important question arises here: Whence does the supreme authority of the State spring? Christian teaching from the beginning has admitted no uncertainty on the point.

"Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but from God, and those that are, exist by God's arrangement. Wherefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the arrangement of God, and they that resist shall bring judgment upon themselves. . . . The ruler is God's minister for good in thy regard. But if thou doest evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain. Yea, he is God's minister, an avenger to [execute] wrath on the evil-doer. Wherefore you must needs be subject not alone for [fear of] wrath but for conscience' sake. This, too, is your reason for paying tribute."¹

The divine origin of civil government, moreover, is pre-eminently reasonable. We have shown above that the State's very existence involves the right to supreme authority and the correlative duty of obedience on the part of its subjects. The precise form of government is determined by the citizens themselves. But a government they must have. The same supreme Will that made man a social being ordained also all that is necessary for the existence and stability of society. The State therefore owes to the divine purpose that which keeps it from disintegration, viz., a single supreme authority endowed with the moral right of effective rule. Such right is independent of the choice or determination of the citizens. They may place a crown on the head of a monarch: the power of his sceptre is not in their gift, but comes direct from God.

§ 9. THE INTERVENTION OF THE STATE

From the explanation of the source and nature of civil authority, it is an easy step to the question of the limits of State intervention. The principles laid down on this subject by Christian sociologists are general, but at the same time practical. To fix the broad limits of the exercise of

¹ This translation is taken from a C.T.S. pamphlet on this topic, viz., *The Things that are Cæsar's*, by Joseph Keating, S.J.

² See also *Notes on St. Paul*, by Joseph Rickaby, S.J., pp. 426 and 427.

State authority, it suffices to declare its purpose. The State exists not for its own advantage but entirely for the good of its citizens. The exercise of civil power, therefore, is to be regulated entirely as the commonweal prescribes. The power of the State may be used directly or indirectly. When used directly the State provides for the nation's security by the organization of its army, navy, police, courts of justice and diplomatic service. This involves the right to impose taxes. All these acts contribute to the public order. The direct power of the State extends thus far and no further. The State possesses no direct power over any particular good. Such things belong primarily to individuals. The property, enterprise, and aims of the individual citizen, family, club, limited company, and association are altogether outside the direct interference of the State, whose sphere of action embraces merely the common good.

If the common good, however, demands the intervention of the State in any particular case, there is justification for governmental interference. Local and personal action may on occasion react on the whole body politic. The State may place a limit to local expenditure, or give running powers to a railway company, or raid a gambling den. In such instances, however, the State's authority is indirect, i.e., not involved in the nature of things. A wise State will ever observe the greatest caution in employing so weighty a weapon as its own supreme authority, lest it damage its own organism by stifling or cramping the personal activities of its members.

When, for example, the control of productive property has been so abused as to result in a totally inequitable division of wealth and the citizens themselves fail by negotiation to establish a fair relation between capital and labour, the State will strive to right the wrong, e.g., by the institution of Trade Boards.¹ But once a reasonable understanding has been arrived at, the State should not interfere further.

The sacred enclosure of the family should forbid any

¹ *Sweated Labour and The Trade Boards Act*, Manual II., C.S.G.

attempt at intrusion. To put governmental authority before parental responsibility is not only grave wrong but extreme foolishness. The strength of civil government, by the nature of things, depends upon the strength of family life, and family life is fortified by the maintenance of parental responsibility. The State may guard the child from gross neglect, or insist upon a modicum of education. But such intervention may not be indefinitely increased. The State will act at times as the parents' deputy, but never usurp their rights.

There are yet other limitations, less radical perhaps, but not less impressive. Historic traditions count for something. The temperament of a people, too, their degree of civilization, their faculties for industry and commerce, the precise structure of their government and political constitution—all these considerations must be taken into account if the State would use its high powers wisely.

§ 10. TYRANNY

The supreme authority is liable to abuse. Justice may give place to tyranny. And since civil authority is not by the delegation of the citizens of a State, but by delegation from God, it might seem that Christian teaching places in an awkward position the subject who lives under the sway of a tyrant. He must bend and suffer; he has no appeal against oppression.

First of all, it is to be remembered that the State is for the perfection of the citizen. His attainment of perfection is prejudiced by an abuse of government, which would enslave him. Tyranny, therefore, means that the purpose of the State has been frustrated, that the oppressor has forfeited his right to rule. The natural right of the citizen to defend himself against tyranny must be carefully considered.

When a nation has set up a system of government, it cannot justly overturn it without sufficient cause. All Governments fail to a greater or lesser degree. So long as a Government substantially fulfils the object of its institution, no one citizen, whatever his power or pre-

tensions, nor any number of citizens, has the right to defy its supreme authority. The commission of a certain measure of downright injustice is reconcilable with such a use of authority as on the whole is equitable. Since the organization of society for the purpose of universal well-being was meant by the Creator to be stable, and since human-kind is not proof against error, justice and wisdom in government must be widely and generously interpreted. Then only is a rule said to be tyrannical when it endangers substantial liberties.

In such circumstances the citizens have a justifiable plea for withstanding the Government—the right of self-defence : a right, however, which can only be exercised when certain conditions are present—

(1) When a Government is persistently tyrannical in the sense explained.

(2) When all constitutional means of redress have proved of no avail.

(3) When the success of resistance can be reasonably assumed : otherwise society will be plunged into deeper disaster.

(4) When resistance has the support of the larger and more soundly principled section of the citizens ; this provision is against the recklessness of a few unthinking or unprincipled hot-bloods.

If rulers show themselves in many regards narrow-minded, unfair, ignorant, unchristian, the respect of the citizens grows proportionately more difficult. Yet obedience to just laws is none the less imperative, and even unjust laws may not be resisted unless they violate the divine law, or unless resistance will not produce an even worse state of affairs. Resistance is not to be advocated as a course to be readily adopted. It is an extreme remedy against an extreme evil, for unwarranted sedition may be as grievous a crime as violent usurpation.

§ 11. THE VOTE

The worst tyranny, because the least easy to resist, is the tyranny, not of a single despot, but of a majority.

There are ideas afloat which indicate this tendency. "The mandate of the people," "manhood suffrage," "minorities must suffer"—phrases like these point to a possible peril arising from the ballot-box. Let us briefly set forth the ethics of the vote.

(a) *Universal Suffrage*

Democracy is defined as the government by the people. In form it varies: direct popular government by the employment of the referendum and initiative; indirect by election and representation. Switzerland provides an example of the first kind; the second may be represented by the French Republic or by the Constitutional Monarchy of England. From these instances it will be immediately perceived that democracy does not necessarily entail universal suffrage. Let us go further and ask, "May a member of a State on the grounds of his citizenship demand the power to vote as a right?" Here we come to grips with our subject. It is necessary to recall what is the end of government. The purpose of government, so often asserted, is the common good of the citizens. Provided the welfare of the citizens is really procured, government, whether entrusted to a despot or to a president of a republic, is sound, fair, just, and its power cannot be lawfully assailed. Justice is therefore consonant with any form of government, and need not be dependent upon the employment of the franchise. The argument, then, is easy: since just government is a right by nature, and since between equitable rule and the vote essential connexion cannot be traced, the right to vote is not a natural right. Every man has a natural right to life, and nature requires a man to be a citizen for the development of his life, but his life and its perfection are capable of being provided for without the vote. Else democracy were the only true form of government—a manifest and dangerous error. Suffrage is an acquired right, i.e., a right not emanating from but affixed to a man's personality as by contract or prescription. Wherefore, even under democracy, universal suffrage cannot be exacted as

a rightful claim, unless the original constitution of the State stipulates for it, or unless it can be proved that the universal use of the vote makes materially for a much more perfect way of securing the proper end of government. At the same time it must be admitted that adult suffrage is more in congruity with the ideals of democracy. Still, much precaution should be used in an advocacy of such suffrage. If the obligations of the members of a Government bind them to seek the common good at all times, and consequently compel them to weigh earnestly and conscientiously each clause of every bill lest the balance of equity be disturbed, they who elect representatives to power are hardly less bound to employ the franchise with carefulness respecting the inherent merits of the policy advanced and the worthiness of the candidates to act for the people. The standard, therefore, of the franchise would ideally be a citizen's capability of intelligent interest in public affairs, coupled with his probity of life. The greater the number of citizens thus qualified, and the vote extended accordingly, the more true to itself is democracy likely to be. Nevertheless, the advantages of the plural vote, based on some such tests as education and propertied interests, in tempering impulse and mitigating excesses, should not be ignored. The need of a steadying influence like the plural vote increases as the number of voters who fail to come within reach of the standard quoted is multiplied. Otherwise, as experience seems to prove in America, popular suffrage may go with a lessening of intelligent concern regarding matters of State, may open a wider door to corruption, and may facilitate the domination of mere undisciplined numbers.

The above remarks, we may add by way of corollary, disclose the duties of citizens in enjoyment of the right to vote. The vote is an admission to the participation in the responsibilities of government. There can be as little excuse alleged for its non-use as for its misuse. To offend by omission is indeed sometimes more reprehensible than to sin by commission. An idle abhorrence for parties and their policies indicates a futile method of righting wrongs. An indifference to the commonweal, such as abstention from

voting so often means, shows a lack of citizenship which is to be seriously deprecated.

(b) *The Mandate of the People*

From the explanation of civil authority given above, it is evident that the popular phrase, "the mandate of the people," requires careful sifting. If it be construed to mean that the deposit of supreme power, the sovereign determinant in government, is the will of the majority, large or small, as expressed through the franchise, "the mandate of the people" implies that civil authority, vested in the head of the State, has been diverted from its divinely-appointed source. Against so grievous an error it is necessary to insist that the members of a Government may never pretend to transfer their responsibility to rule to a majority of voters, no matter how overwhelming. A Government must always determine for itself the character of its own legislation, and accept all liability before God for its determination. If a policy be at variance with morality, a Government has the choice of either of two plain courses—to resign office, or to withstand the policy despite of the numbers in its favour.

There is a sense, however, in which the will of the people, as declared by the majority, should be regarded as decisive and final. Government being for the good of the people, the verdict of the majority in respect of a policy in itself lawful, should ordinarily be received to be for the good of the people. They who wield civil authority can have no surer guarantee of the citizens' best interests than what, in such circumstances, the citizens deliberately prefer. Moreover, the dignity of the people is worthy of the highest respect.

The difficulty surrounding the question, however, is more of a practical than theoretical character. With the many diverse items of the modern political programme, and with the complications of modern parliamentary procedure, the claims of politicians, who seek to advance their party cause on the supposed ascertained will of the majority, must be accepted with reluctance. There are numerous measures, some affecting intimate family life like the recent Mental

Deficiency Act, about which the voter is practically debarred from expressing his opinion. It may be that an ever-increasing tendency on the part of Government to employ its power of intervention will have to be met by a more constant consultation of the wishes of the people. If at such a juncture citizens can be brought to understand the aims of right government and the proper exercise of the vote, the extension of the franchise and its more direct employment in vital issues will unquestionably protect the people against the evils of bureaucracy.

(c) *Women's Suffrage*

It is exceedingly instructive to note how with time the mist which enveloped the vexed question of "Woman's Rights" has been cleared away among Catholic thinkers. Two decades ago the political emancipation of women was by some unreservedly condemned. To-day female suffrage is often upheld as expedient, or even as a right in justice. On this matter the Church has made no official pronouncement. Catholics know her moral teaching, and in this instance she has left them to apply it. Years have tempered extreme opinions; old ideas with their prejudices and fears have vanished, and given room to saner and sounder judgment. Modern needs have demanded a fresh application of the unchangeable principles of the Church. Formerly woman's sphere was more restricted to the home-circle. Her first duties are still centred in the home, in the noble functions of motherhood. Nevertheless, her excess in numbers over men, which debars many from matrimony, and the hard economic conditions in which she finds herself, married or single, present another aspect of her energies and responsibilities. It is to be remembered that, provided the functions of woman in relation to the family be unimpeded in their scope, there is no development of her individuality, intellectual and moral, social and political, of which the Church does not approve. The franchise, it will be seen, does not stand in the way of woman fulfilling her essential duties. Furthermore, the theoretical criterion, according to which the vote should be granted, is that some

warrant of its proper use by qualifications of intelligence and uprightness should exist. That women may come up to this standard as adequately as men none but a fanatic doubts. In consequence, to banish the question of women's suffrage merely on the grounds of sex is obvious injustice, as would be, for instance, the disfranchisement of a male citizen on the plea of religion.

On the practical side, however, we recognize the right of the State to limit the franchise for solid reasons of State. Thus the Army and Navy are disfranchised. Considering the question of women's suffrage from a purely ethical point of view, as distinct from its practical application, it would appear that where the right to vote is accepted as the normal method of redressing grievances and of exercising the just claims of citizenship, to exclude any normal class of the population merely on the grounds of sex is indefensible.

READINGS ON CHAPTER II

SECTION I

Of God and His Creatures, translated by Jos. Rickaby, S.J.
Book III.

His Divine Majesty, by W. Humphreys, S.J.

SECTIONS 2, 3 and 4

Encyclical Letter, "Arcanum Divinae," *The Pope and the People*.
The Elements of Social Science and Political Economy, by Dardano.
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The Key to the World's Progress, by C. S. Devas (refer Index under "Family").

SECTIONS 5-II

Moral and Political Essays, by Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Essay I.
Cours d'Economie Sociale, by Ch. Antoine, pp. 1-91.

Political Economy, by C. S. Devas, pp. 569-582.

Moral Philosophy, by Joseph Rickaby, pp. 297-370.

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Encyclical Letters, "Immortale Dei" and "Sapientiae Christianae," *The Pope and the People*, pp. 65-138.

Christianity and "Woman's Rights," by J. Keating, S.J. (C.S.G. Pamphlet, No. 16).

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

MAN is a religious as well as a political being. Man's history renders it superfluous to do more than state the fact. Religion in some sort is so great a need of man that organized civil society has never been known without it. To use his Christian citizenship to the best effect, the Catholic should understand the relations of the Church to the State.

§ 1. THE GRAVITY OF THE SUBJECT

The seriousness of the subject lies in its connexion with the destiny of man. The State exists to develop the personality of the citizen directly, in regard to his material well-being, but chiefly, though indirectly, with a view to his spiritual and eternal happiness. In an order of mere natural felicity the State could never have absorbed all the free energies of its members. The State even assures its citizens immunity from the countless limitations of isolation. By the elevation of human destiny to the supernatural, however, civic liberty has not been diminished but accentuated. As Christianity has endowed human personality with a divine dignity, so has it meted out to man a larger and grander freedom. "And you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. . . . If therefore the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed."¹ The liberty established by Christianity is based on the injunction of Christ that the citizens of His kingdom should follow the emancipating truth, and that no hindrance should be placed by any power to hamper them in its pursuit. The ultimate end of human existence overshadows all other

¹ John viii. 32 and 36.

ends : all other ends must be subordinated to it as means thereto : in it their real meaning and purport are discovered ; to fail in the ultimate end is to fail in all. The Christian citizen may not confuse the twofold significance of his title by devoting himself to transient matters in detriment to everlasting.

§ 2. POINTS OF DIFFERENCE AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

“ The Catholic Church is a visible, well-defined, and organized moral body, established by Christ, whose members profess the Catholic religion which He instituted.”¹ From this definition the following points are clear : the Church like the State is an organized society ; like the State, the Church has been endowed with the power of authority ; like the State, the Church has been divinely instituted. From the definition we may infer certain points by difference : unlike the State, the Church is not limited to any people and territory, but is cosmopolitan and supra-national ; unlike the State, the Church has for its object the salvation of the individual ; unlike the State, the Church’s authority is directly and not derivatively divine, not through the channels of nature, but straightway from God.

From the enumeration of these differences and agreements between the Church and the State, it is but a short stride to the three subsequent conclusions : first, that by reason of their respective ends the Church holds the prior place, and is consequently above the jurisdiction of the State ; secondly, that the constitution of the Church enables her government to harmonize with any and every lawful form of civil government ; and, thirdly, the fact of their separate missions deprives the Church, though the higher society, of any claim to interfere with the ruling of the State in civil affairs as such, and, of course, annuls all claims of the State to interfere with the Church in her private affairs.

§ 3. THE DOMINION OF THE CHURCH

The universal character of the Church, almost as much as her power, has induced many outside her pale to distrust

¹ *The Relation of the Church to Society*, by E. J. O’Reilly, S. J., p. 17.

her. What the Church has accomplished and what she is alone capable of accomplishing for civilization has gone and still goes for nothing with such minds. Where material prosperity is the aim of the highest aspiration, there the upholder of the spiritual and the supernatural will be little regarded. Yet the Church exists for all men without distinction, for the bond as for the free, for the mild Hindu as for the imperial Britisher, and is for all time. The command, "Go ye and teach all nations," left the Apostles and their successors no room for discrimination or predilection. Through the organized moral body, the Church, the Christian religion was to be preached unto all, wholly, without change by addition or subtraction, for, being the truth, it could be suited neither to the whims of peoples, nor the wills of Governments. The faith of Christ was not one thing to Ethelbert of Kent and another to Constantine of Rome.

The unity of the Church in belief, in profession and in allegiance to one visible Head, is the foundation and bulwark of her stability. The sway of the Church is due to her appeal to the consciences of men. It was with the credentials of faith that Christ "sent" His Apostles, and on these credentials the Church has ever maintained her place in the world. In the first century she proclaimed her indisputable right to counsel and direct her children in their service of the Redeemer: she does the same to-day. Under the existing conditions of life the Church's cosmopolitan character, and her influence over human society, are alike inevitable.

The State may obstruct the Church; it cannot undo it. The work that Christ set up will endure in spite of opposition.

§ 4. THE CHURCH THE ALLY OF THE STATE

The universality of the Church and her sovereignty over the lives of her children are in no sense antagonistic to the interests of the civil power. With all just forms of civil government, the Church is at one, substantiating their authority with her approbation. The State's civil authority and the Church's spiritual authority do not rise from different springs. God is the immediate founder of the one, as He is the ultimate source of the other. The recognition by the

Church of the origin of the State is emphatically declared in the encyclical letter of the late Sovereign Pontiff, *On the Christian Constitution of States* :

“All public power must come from God. For God alone is the true and supreme Lord of the world. Everything, without exception, must be subject to Him and must serve Him, so that whosoever holds the right to govern, holds it from the sole and single source, namely, God, the Sovereign Ruler of all. ‘There is no power but from God.’”¹

The Church therefore directs the consciences of her children, and bids them show obedience to their civil governors. Since the maintenance of civil authority is fundamental to Governments, it is evident that the cosmopolitan Church fortifies each State against interior revolt. To the British Catholic, for instance, she sets forth his duty : Be a Catholic and be a British citizen, rendering to God the things that are God’s, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s.² This is not a matter of mere sentiment, but of conscience.

“To despise legitimate authority, in whomsoever vested, is unlawful as rebellion against the divine Will, and whoever resists that rushes wilfully to destruction. ‘He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation.’”³

§ 5. THE CHURCH AND TEMPORAL AFFAIRS

(a) *Where the Church may not Intervene*

Here, however, arises a common difficulty. Seeing that the Christian citizen is one indivisible whole, and that he is held under the domination of two powers, the one civil and the other ecclesiastical, will it not often occur in practice that his duty to his Church will conflict with his duty to his country? The answer to this question cannot be baldly stated in either the negative or the affirmative. Though Catholic teaching is plain on the matter, it needs careful explanation. The province of the Church is not civic. With the mere temporal affairs of the State the Church has

¹ *The Pope and the People*, p. 67.

² See *The Things that are Cæsar’s*, C.S.G. Pamphlet, No. 22.

³ *The Pope and the People*, loc. cit., p. 69.

absolutely no concern and over them no authority. The spiritual mission of the Church precludes her interference.

"The Church alike and the State, doubtless, both possess individual sovereignty: hence in carrying out of public affairs, neither obeys the other within the limits to which each is restricted by its constitution. It does not hence follow, however, that the Church and State are in any way severed, still less antagonistic."¹

The Church admits that "in the sphere of politics ample matter may exist for legitimate difference of opinion," and far from coveting to intrude, she resents "attempts to involve her in party strife."² The writings of Pope Leo XIII are not dictated by astute diplomacy; they utter a plain doctrine. What he states explicitly, his predecessors on the Throne of Peter, Justin to the Emperors, Sylvester to Constantius, Gelasius to Anastasius, Gregory the Second to Leo the Isaurian, or Gregory the Great to the Emperor Maurice, have written with equal simplicity and clearness.

(b) *Where the Church may Intervene*

When, however, we assert that the Church has no interest in politics and temporal concerns as such, the limitation is to be carefully noted. Human activities, whether in government or otherwise, are necessarily dominated by certain ideals and coloured by ethical considerations. Acts however, the offspring of reason, are not always of legitimate birth. Thus in the industrial world, an uncontrolled competitive system has given countenance to many forms of injustice, once confined chiefly to unprincipled employers, now shared between such employers and some misguided Trade Unionists. So too the State frequently sinned by legislation with an inequitable bias towards the propertied class, and even by legislation constructively immoral. To all such human conduct the Church, as the divinely appointed exponent and guardian of Christian morals, cannot remain indifferent. The commandments of God are in her keeping

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Sapientiae Christianae," *The Pope and the People*, p. 124.

² *The Pope and the People*, loc. cit., 123.

for the sake of God and for the sake of man's eternal happiness. The Church must always denounce injustice whether man shows it towards God or his fellows. She advocates before the master of labour the claims of "Christian morality, powerful to restrain the greed of possession and the thirst for pleasure—twin plagues, which too often make a man who is void of self-restraint miserable in the midst of abundance." ¹

She insists that Working Men's Associations, while organized in accord with "national character," "the scope of the various trades and employments," "the nature and aim of the work to be done," so that the highest good of each member in mind and body may be always pursued, "must pay special and chief attention to the duties of religion and morality, and that their internal discipline must be guided very strictly by these weighty considerations." ²

Before Governments she maintains :

"On like grounds the Church, the guardian always of her own right, and most observant of that of others, holds that it is not in her province to decide which is the best among many diverse forms of government, and the civil institutions of Christian States, and amid the various kinds of State rule, she does not [exclusively] approve of any, provided the respect due to religion and the observance of good morals be upheld. . . . From God has the duty been assigned to the Church, not only to interpose resistance if at any time the State rule should run counter to religion, but further to make a strong endeavour that the power of the Gospel may pervade the law and the institutions of the nations." ³

Hence it follows that where Christian morality is offended against, the Church protests because the individual, or the association, or the State, has first interfered by overstepping the boundaries set by God's law. In this the Church is not the aggressor but the aggrieved. Were the consciences of men directed by the laws of morality, the voice of the Church

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Rerum Novarum," *The Pope and the People*, p. 22.

² Encyclical Letter, "Rerum Novarum," *The Pope and the People*, p. 22.

³ Encyclical Letter, "Sapientiae Christianae," *The Pope and the People*, pp. 123-4.

would be little heard in condemnation, and any conflict between Church and State would be unknown.

§ 6. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH ON THE STATE

In many ways the influence of the Church in her relations to the State has already been indicated. We have pointed out how she champions the authority of State rule; how in teaching that God is the Author of government, she meets the objections of human pride; and how, while laying down obedience as a conscientious obligation, she offers high and compelling motives for a willing and abiding submission. We have seen how the State is of itself devoid of either power or means by which to preserve the true moral standard of the citizen, for "the civil power cannot command his intellect, it cannot control his conscience, it cannot coerce his will,"¹ and yet upon a high level of public morality largely depends the peace and prosperity of the State. We have noted how the salutary interference of Christian principles in temporal affairs comes to the aid of the State, not only in its dealings with individual members, but with whole classes. Furthermore, by the exercise of her legitimate jurisdiction the Church has been shown to be the protectress of the State against its own excesses. Unchecked, the State naturally inclines to "Cæsarism" as making for economy and efficiency, and tends to claim an absolute control of the political constitution and of personal liberty, but the Church, the inflexible guardian of justice, has throughout her career withstood this reversion to the pagan's ideal, despite the bitter enmities which have been her recompense. Under a Christian civilization she has striven to preserve the balance between authority and personal freedom. All this has been foreshadowed in the preceding pages.

It is necessary, however, to describe more particularly the value of the Church as the support of civil society, the more necessary indeed as it is the fashion nowadays to repudiate her influence as effete and powerless to remedy or even to assuage the evils of society.

¹ *Miscellanies*, by Cardinal Manning, p. 70.

" I consider " [says Father Rickaby, S.J., in a striking passage] " the influence of religion to have been a fostering rather than a creative influence, confirmatory rather than originative of politics and government : at the same time a fostering influence of the highest efficiency, so efficient that without it, what we know to have been the historical development of civil society could never have taken place." ¹

This opinion of the general influence of religion is unquestionable. Christianity, exacting justice and charity, and consequently brotherhood among men, condemns the extremes of tyranny and anarchy.

(a) *Private Property*

Private property is not the invention of the Church, but a right by nature. Individualism, the outcome of the Reformation, taught that an owner is the absolute lord of his property. Against individualism socialism is ranged, which on pleas of expediency would abolish productive private property. The Church against the extravagancies of Socialism and Individualism alike upholds nature's law, but interprets it thus—that while property is a personal right, it is nevertheless a right in trust, to be used for the benefit of others as well as of self ; not only to procure fairly, but to be administered conscientiously. Hence wantonly to waste is social wrong ; to refuse to succour the needy out of superfluous possessions is to offend against charity, and in case of extreme want, against justice.

(b) *Economics*

Since Quesnay and Adam Smith gave political economy a scientific method in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it has been forced upon scientific economists how penetrating is the influence of Christianity upon the world. Wealth for its own sake, devoid of all reference to the human element in production, caused the elaboration of a theory which justified the capitalist in exploiting and degrading the worker. The mitigations induced into this inhuman

¹ *Political and Moral Essays*, p. 21.

process by Christian influences are now acknowledged. We hear now among scientists of "Economic Ethics." The remorseless theories of the Physiocrats or the "Classical" school no longer obtain. "Here we may seek rules for the conduct of honest men and applaud such Catholic theologians as Costa-Rossetti, Cathrein and others, who are interested in political economy as an auxiliary to ethical theology."¹

(c) *Labour*

When the modern world would attribute the emancipation of the slave to civil government, it ignores the fact that civil government was swayed in this matter by the Church. Christian civilization alone made the abolition of the slave trade certain. The attitude of the Church towards slavery emphasizes her teaching and example respecting labour. "The example first of all of Him who was blacksmith and carpenter, the Son (as Celsus says in derision) of a poor workwoman, with workmen as disciples"² has restored the dignity as it has ratified the duty of labour. To despise manual toil, therefore, betokens a dearth of Christian charity, no less than it implies an infringement of Christian justice. The worker has never lacked a befriending hand in the Church, whose sympathy is the more genuine because she denounces the defrauding labourer as strenuously as the unjust employer, the unscrupulous strike as well as the unprincipled lock-out.

(d) *Social Reform*

In the unrest which is affecting modern society, sincere and earnest thinkers outside the Church are labouring to find some panacea which will restore just relations between man and man, class and class, and will renew the life of nations. It is impossible not to sympathize with their painstaking and anxious efforts, and sympathy grows the

¹ *Introduction to the Study of Political Economy*, by Luigi Cossa (translated by Louis Dyer), p. 28.

² *Key to the World's Progress*, by C. S. Devas, p. 103.

greater the more one studies their writings and detects not unseldom the presence of fundamental misconceptions. The marked change of front of the intellectual socialist, for instance, is a matter of gratification. Many of the former tenets of the leaders of English Socialism are to-day cast aside and condemned by Fabians as anarchic. Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb perceive that a "change of heart," "a growth of public spirit," "a recognition of the social obligation to serve the community," are essential to the readjustment of society. Yet it is not religion but the history of economic and political science that makes the Socialist confident of the future. Religion with the Socialist is important as an "emotion," and the most he will promise for it is that "the Socialist State will be with regard to religion as to everything else, as its citizens from time to time command." With laudable candour the Socialist admits that the science of sociology has many mysteries to unravel.¹ By way of contrast let us set forth the Catholic point of view:

"We spoke just now advisedly of virtue and religion" [wrote Leo XIII]. "For it is the opinion of some, which is caught up by the masses, that the social question, as they call it, is merely economic. The precise opposite is the truth, that it is first of all moral and religious, and for that reason its solution is to be expected mainly from the moral law and religion."²

Undoubtedly economics are a vital element in the problem. Moreover, where such large issues are involved and such varied characters have to be dealt with, governmental authority must be resorted to. Change of heart, brought about by morality and religion, however, must be of the essence of successful reform, no matter how largely State action and economic principles intervene. Shorter hours, higher wages, better housing, a more widely diffused co-operative system, and all other proposed constituents of temporal well-being will never of themselves restore contentment. Christianity has unravelled the mysteries of

¹ *The New Statesman*: issues from April 12 to September 6, 1913.

² Encyclical Letter, "Graves de Communi," *The Pope and the People*, p. 274.

sociology—that the mainspring of right conduct is the moral law, and that the upholder of the moral law is religion.

It is in her steadfast adherence to God's design in His modelling of society, and to His laws for the direction of human conduct, that the Church will always prove herself indispensable to any sure and lasting reform of social ills.

READINGS ON CHAPTER III

Essay on the Catholic Claims, by Bishop Doyle.

The Relations of the Church to Society, by E. J. O'Reilly, S.J., Chapter XXVI.

Cours d'Economie Sociale, by Ch. Antoine, Chapter VI.

Key to the World's Progress, by C. S. Devas, pp. 124-160.

Miscellanies, by Cardinal Manning. Series II., Chapter III.

Difficulties of Anglicans, by Cardinal Newman, Vol. I.

Eve of the Reformation, by A. Gasquet.

Mediæval Socialism, by Bede Jarrett, O.P.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN

§ 1. PATRIOTISM

THE return of affection, which every citizen is bound to make to the State for the benefits received from and through it, is called patriotism. Patriotism is the love of one's country. It resembles the affection which a grateful child offers its parents. Patriotism, therefore, is not a matter of feeling, though emotion may be inseparable from it. Patriotism, like filial love, does not consist in an ephemeral or spasmodic devotion, and involving, as it does, a continued response to a continued benefit, cannot find support in mere sentiment. The love of one's country is not a duty fulfilled by the perfunctory payment of rates and taxes, but a duty of love, binding to grateful service. Consequently an unpatriotic citizen is an unnatural man. A seditious citizen becomes a monster, like the son who lifts his hand against his mother.

§ 2. CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

As the State is exalted by Christianity—its authority confirmed, its intervention rendered more effective because of the limits assigned by Christian ethics to the rights of rulers and individuals, its real well-being secured, its advance in civilization effected, and its relations with its own members made stable and harmonious—so does Christianity ennoble patriotism. To the Author of his being man is clearly under the most absolute obligation. After God, however, he is indebted chiefly to the parents of whom he was born and to the country in which he was reared. His existence he owes to God, who selected him to be and who preserves him in being. In a secondary way man's being

and its perfection are to be attributed to his parents and his country. Man pays his debt to God by religion, which prescribes an unremitting worship. Man satisfies his obligations to his parents and his country by a twofold devotion, which is second only to that demanded by religion. We have but to consider the respective claims—God's personal excellence and man's complete dependence upon His sovereign Will for his creation and every other good, and the functions of parents and country as the intermediate sources of man's existence, the vicegerents of God's authority and the distributors of many of His blessings—in order to perceive not only the reasons of these duties, but their stringency. The realization of the delegation of divine authority to the State in its sphere as to parents in theirs shows how the Christian faith has permeated the natural duty of patriotism with its own dignity; as Christianity renders patriotism more binding, it also ennobles its obligations by tracing them back to their right origin.

§ 3. COUNTRY

For the due service exacted by patriotism to be possible we need a correct understanding of the very vague word "country." Reasoning man does not love mere lifeless abstractions, nor does he rightly feel a duty of devotion to what cannot appreciate his zeal. One's country is not loved for its natural wealth, its commercial advantages, its salubrious climate, its hills and dales, or its square miles. Love, strictly speaking, can exist only between persons, for only persons possess a moral worth, which excites the love of esteem, and ability to confer benefits, which is the basis of the love of gratitude. When we say, for instance, that we love Nature, we mean we find pleasure to *ourselves* in various forms of physical beauty. Similarly, love for country is but a feeling of personal satisfaction with scenes and circumstances to which we have become habituated, unless it passes on to our fellow-citizens, those who dwell in the same land as ourselves. Our country, then, is the whole community organized for security and progress; it signifies, in short, the homes of our fellows, for the family

makes the State, and the State is for the family. Hence, as St. Thomas says so plainly, *since the love of parents includes the love of kin, in the love of country is embraced the love of our fellow-citizens and all friends of our country.*¹ It is precisely because the State is bound up so intimately with the homes of a country—the champion of their liberty, the source of their corporate well-being, the promoter of their civilization, the rivet in the links of unity welded by blood-ties, a common language, and national traditions and customs—that patriotism, the love of our fatherland, really consists of the love of our fellow-citizens and all friends of our country. In this way patriotism gives nobility to life, justification to lawful war, and heroism to death in service of the State. To live, fight and die for green fields and flowering hedges is scarcely reasonable. Poets may sing sentimentally, but men should think rationally. The fallacy of personification useful in imaginative writings should not obscure thought. One of the most rational loves inspiring the human breast is the love which animates the patriotic citizen. And here it is to be noted that the word “country” may signify empire. In a vast empire, embracing men of many lands, it behoves citizens of the governing race to remember the meaning of Christian patriotism: human dignity, rights and duties, the love of fellow-countrymen and of friends of one’s country, brotherhood in Christ, do not vary according as men are black or white.

§ 4. LOYALTY

Now if analysed, patriotism may be said to be compounded of three elements—loyalty, respect and obedience.

Loyalty to the State will show itself in affection. Love, however, suggests service, and devotedness is love made perfect. Since authority belongs to the ruler of the State as a right, which cannot be denied without just cause, the first evidence of devoted service required by Christian patriotism consists in a genuine loyalty to him or them by whom this supreme prerogative is represented. The policy of a Government may not please, its legislation may seem

¹ *Summa Theologica*, I.-II., q. 101, Art. 1.

unwise and even unjust, but imprudence and unfairness will have to proceed to very serious lengths before patriotism will permit loyalty to cease. The zeal of Elizabethan Catholics in defence of the State, which was persecuting them, is a classic example. Loyalty is, of course, consistent with the employment of constitutional means for the overthrow or alteration of a Government, but "passive resistance," as often understood to-day, although witnessing in its way to the supremacy of conscience, testifies also to the amount of ignorance of civic duties, which the abandonment of Catholic teaching has induced. The more we admire the principle of resistance to injustice (which is a negative homage to the just God), the more are we compelled to blame the perversity that sets up personal opinion or private interest as a standard of loyalty. If for slight or inconsistent reasons citizens are to withstand Government to the face, it will readily be perceived how grievous becomes the menace to the State through the weakening of the spirit of loyalty, springing from an easy contempt of the sovereign right to rule.

Moreover, patriotism, enjoining the love of one's fellow-citizens, discloses a very practical manner in which devoted service may be further displayed. To recognize authority is one duty; to aid authority is another. The homes of the people form the mainstay of a country. If pauperism has eaten as a cancer into the vitals of national home-life, if personal advantages have been pursued so blindly as to occasion prolonged industrial unrest, if instead of citizen paying regard for citizen, they are divided into separate antagonistic castes, if through decay of the moral sense, unsound theories, threatening the unity and freedom of the family, are accepted as a new gospel among the people and their representatives, loyalty to the State in form of counsel and support becomes more and more imperative. Internal disaster and ruin—what else do such conditions portend? The best of personal service—to restore family life, to insist upon the sanctity of marriage, to demand for the worker his natural claim to a decent livelihood, to combat oppression of the weak and treachery towards the strong, injustice

wherever found—what else does the afflicted State demand, and what less may the loyal citizen endeavour to bestow?

§ 5. RESPECT

Respect for authority no less than loyalty is an essential characteristic of patriotism. While the supreme authority of the State is to be supported because its prototype is to be found in the eternal sovereignty of God, for the same reason have they, who wield authority either by right or by delegation, a just claim to the respect of their subjects. Even though human pride and self-preference suggest the opposite, such respect is not derogatory to personal dignity. On the contrary, it betokens the man of clear mind and upright will, who guides himself by facts; it evinces a self-respect which hates deceit. To bestow honour where honour is due is to honour also oneself. Let the unpatriotic disparage authority, but let not the Christian citizen refrain from yielding reverence by word and act to civil authority, whether personified by the King, the ministers of the Crown, or the occupants of the seats of justice.

Since the rights of the citizen form so predominant a part of the State's responsibility, respect for State authority manifestly necessitates respect for individual rights. Christian patriotism reinforces Christian justice; to the motive of honesty it adds the reasons of order, peace and concord.

§ 6. OBEDIENCE

And lastly, patriotism exacts obedience as a duty. "Obedience," as the poet so truly says, "is the bond of rule"; it is the principal item in the discharge of the debt which citizens owe the State. Law, as we have seen, is the guarantee of the liberty of the citizens, securing for each freedom from unjust aggression. If, therefore, citizens refuse to obey the law, they not only threaten the life of the State, but they turn recklessly against themselves by frustrating the enjoyment of their freedom. Evasion of just laws is oftentimes not far removed from revolt against the State, and is evidence of the weakening of patriotism. A law-

abiding nation is essentially patriotic ; reverence for the law indicates an enlightened citizenship, and provides a certain test of national vigour. General obedience to law reveals two vital facts about a people : first, that the enactments of Government are real laws, just in themselves and wise in their application, and, secondly, that the citizens of a country are actuated by a right conception of liberty. Chronic disobedience to law is the result of the absence of either or both of these conditions. Legal decrees, if not wise and just in themselves or in their administration, may not be correctly designated law, and directly invite disaffection among the subjects of a State. *Lex injusta lex nulla*.¹ Thus for Parliament to deny to the workers the right to associate, to condemn Trade Unionism, and to strive to coerce it out of existence was a flagrant act of injustice, unworthy of the name of law, and deservedly met with opposition. This is evident. The effects of a wrong conception of liberty among citizens are not so easily seen, and, as the subject is far-reaching, we propose to give it a more detailed discussion.

§ 7. LIBERTY

We begin with this proposition : unwise and unjust acts on the part of a Government, let their immediate results be ever so grave, do not so endanger a country's peace as does the prevalence of a false notion of liberty. Once liberty has become confused with licence, law, order, peace and prosperity begin to decline. Licence is the negation of law, for what is law but an ordinance expressive of right reason, the application to conduct of the guiding principles impressed on the minds of men by the Sovereign Wisdom ? And what else is licence than the distortion of right reason and the substitution of passion for will ? Here, then, comes the point of the question. To a surprisingly large extent the laws of a country reflect the conscience of its people, and

¹ It may be well to recall the definition of law given by the great Catholic doctor, St. Thomas, viz. : " A regulation in accordance with reason promulgated by the head of a community for the common welfare."—*Summa*, I.-II., q. 90, Art. 4.

the consciences of a people are dominated by the moral philosophies and ethical beliefs which have obtained currency among them. Many British laws, for example, during the past century implicitly assert the sacredness of property over the sacredness of person, and are otherwise coloured by the prejudices of the classes which had most to do with passing them. The philosophy of the "Manchester School," which assisted an unchecked anti-social individualism, was so far devoid of a moral basis, and certain legal acts inspired by it strayed so far from the just standard, as to be tantamount to social crimes.¹ "The law" asserted the rights of property but has not enforced its duties, and the resulting injustice has driven the masses of the people to a civil war of strikes. We have repeated this example in order to show how licence, i.e., conduct not regulated by reason, aims a death-blow at both sound law and true liberty. Licence, we insist, is not a sign of mental illumination nor of unfettered will, but is the product of minds morally darkened and of wills in bondage. It means impotence to resist influences which make for deterioration. There is no tyranny more absolute than the tyranny of abused liberty, no servitude so complete as that which discards the emancipation of righteous law. What, then, is freedom?

"Liberty," answers Pope Leo XIII, "is the faculty of choosing means fitted for an end proposed," and consequently "the end or object, both of the rational will and of its liberty is that good only which is in conformity with reason."²

Wherefore licence is either a misuse of reason by the estimation of a means as good, which reason used aright repudiates as evil; or the misuse of choice, by which a will out of hand prefers a wrong means or a wrong end in defiance of the guidance of right reason. Licence of necessity entails the loss of human dignity, for it brings into dishonour the highest faculties which elevate man above the brute crea-

¹ The Combination Act of 1799 made Trade Unionism illegal; full legal recognition was not given to Trade Unions till 1871.

² Encyclical Letter, "*Libertas Praestantissimum*," *The Pope and the People*, pp. 142-3.

tion, belittling virtue, condoning vice, and, where widespread, it transmits the corruption of the individual to the body politic. Armies, navies, colonies, an overflowing revenue, cannot save a people who have lost regard for law. Nor is this the worst aspect of the woeful plight in which such a people are situated. Well has it been said, "The constitutional forms of any Government are of little moment compared with the character of the men on whom devolves its working." A ruler, however, may in private life be immaculate, and in his public office conscientious and firm, still the exercise of his supreme authority must needs be determined by the readiness of his subjects to abide by it. A whole nation cannot be coerced. A Government may pass good laws, but an unwholesome national life will immediately put them in abeyance. To some extent every Government is constrained to tolerate evils. When, however, the popular conscience has descended so far below the divine standard of morals as to justify the period of its existence being described as an age of licence rather than as an age of liberty, it is apparent that the political prudence of the State will be sorely taxed to extricate itself from the pass into which its citizens have placed it. The helplessness of the State at such a juncture is the more pitiable in that, as the natural guardian of public morals, its action is confined to repressing the outward manifestations of interior corruption, and cannot reach the seat of disorder. In a democratic State, whether constitutional monarchy or republic, where political policy is framed so extensively to suit the will of the majority, any spirit of licence bodes ill for the continued prosperity and even existence of the community. Party relying on votes and Government on party, it is natural enough that those in power, although invested with supreme authority from God, should listen more attentively to the cries of their immediate supporters in the constituencies than to the precepts of their Lord and Master. Wherefore it cannot be affirmed with too great emphasis that citizenship must be inspired by Christianity if citizenship is to be the warrant of liberty, of concord among subjects, of strength of families, and of the solidity of the State.

Law, in other words, rests upon religion : its final sanction is not the ineffective policeman, but the all-seeing and just God. Sweep away this sanction, and each individual becomes a law to himself, without a motive for loyalty to his rulers or fellow-citizens, devoid of respect for public and private rights, and up in arms against all that hampers his lower self. Licence in economics has provided a classic example in the practical slavery of the proletariat, and politics, the source of right government, is not immune from a worse fate, for, with the spread of irreligion, the worship of expediency tends to displace regard for justice. A State, urged by right reason, may go far to rectify the human waste involved by a faulty economic system, but when the State itself is infected by false principles and sets expediency before justice, what natural force remains to stay its decay and fall ?

§ 8. LIBERTY OF SPEECH AND PRESS, AND JINGOISM

From section 7 it will be seen that what parades as freedom of speech and of the press may easily be an assumed name for licence. Deluded by pride, many men declare their right to think as they will, and almost to speak and print what they will. The further the abuse of freedom is stretched, the more free do these lovers of false liberty consider themselves. So blinded are they that they pretend that not the teaching of wrong is harmful, but only the actual doing of wrong. Thus to preach anarchy is a free man's right ; to manufacture or to throw bombs is criminal. It does not occur to the prophets of licence that a false teacher may be in reality a worse enemy to society than a criminal. Right is a moral claim, and the right to speak and to publish must correspond with truth and justice. When liberty is so far misused that wrongful and injurious teaching is spread broadcast, the wise will perceive a true lover of liberty in him who wrote :

“ The excesses of an unbridled intellect, which unfailingly end in the oppression of the untutored multitude, are no less rightly controlled by the authority of the law than are the injuries in-

flicted by violence upon the weak . . . for liberty will ever be more free and secure in proportion as licence is kept in fuller restraint." ¹

One of the most frequent forms of flagrant injustice with which a free press has made us familiar is Jingoism. Jingoism is patriotism run to seed. It corresponds in international relations to arrogant and ill-bred self-assertion in private intercourse. It is the negation of Christian charity, born of national pride and issuing in contempt of others. It is the chief obstacle to the realization of Christian brotherhood and the spread of Christian principles in international dealings. It is responsible for the enormous waste of material resources involved in European armaments. Its mouthpiece is the "yellow-press," which lives on sensationalism and deals in falsehood and suspicion. It is peculiar to no nation, but infects all in proportion as their Christianity becomes weak.

Obedience to the law of the land in all that is not directly contrary to Christian morals is, we repeat, the most urgent duty which patriotism commands. The observance of the letter of the law is, however, only a meagre and mean service. Sometimes, in the name of Liberty, as we have related, the powerful agency of press and platform is employed to advocate opinions on causes without regard to their moral merit. This will endanger that public esteem on which all law should rest. On such occasions Christian patriotism will encourage, indeed, all lawful efforts for the abrogation of offending laws, but will also urge upon Christian citizens the duty of cheerful obedience and loyalty, as well as the repression of all those selfish desires and moral lapses which impede the restoration of true liberty.

§ 9. SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

From what we have remarked in the first chapter and in the preceding part of this, the difficulty of reducing the duties of Christian citizenship to practical detail will be

¹ Encyclical Letter, "Libertas Praestantissimum," *The Pope and the People*, p. 161.

readily admitted. In offering the following suggestions we desire to impress upon the reader that they are merely glimpses of large subjects, and that they are but a few of many just as practical and important. If the scope of our suggestions is restricted to social matters affecting the Catholic community, it is because the primary object of this manual is to bring the duties of Christian citizenship more urgently to the notice of Catholics. The deeper the insight into the true nature of Christian citizenship, the more insistent grows the call of duty to aid our fellow-man, irrespective of creed, to live a happier life, and thus to assist him to carry out the high purpose of his being. The motive of Christian brotherhood cannot be fenced round, for the only limit of charity towards one's neighbour is the virtue of prudence. Wherever there exists a real want, charity finds a duty to correspond. Moreover, the benefits which we gain from living with others compel our gratitude as well as our love. To live for others is a characteristic note of citizenship as to live with others is its essential element. In adducing a few practical points which concern the Catholic body, our aim is first that Catholics may perceive the advantages of the realization of Christian citizenship in respect of their own brethren in the faith, and, secondly, that such beneficial experience as they may provide will serve as object lessons teaching how charity and justice may be extended to our fellow-citizens outside the Church.

(a) Our Boys

When it is reckoned how small a proportion Catholics in England are to the general population and of their numbers how disproportionally large is the number of their poor, Christian citizenship insists that every endeavour should be made to build up our forces. In looking to the future, it will be agreed that a start should be made with the young.

For all that has been attempted on behalf of the children of the working classes, whose parents cannot adequately help them, there is no escape from the truth that Catholic organization is far from complete. To consider only one

branch—the spiritual dangers to which Catholic boys are exposed are beyond dispute, for admittedly they form the main source of leakage from the Church. The task which their needs set us is extremely difficult, but by no means as anxious a problem as of old. The Catholic Boys' Brigade and the Boy Scouts have shown us how to cope with the expansive energies of the boy and to provide him with interest. Yet even these excellent movements do not altogether get rid of the necessity of building premises suitable to his needs, nor do they throw the gate open to the poorest. These difficulties, however, are not insurmountable; the real obstacle is to discover officers, scout-masters, etc., who are ready to make sacrifice of time and labour on behalf of their young brethren. It is hardly needful to assert that the disruptive work of evil associations begins very soon in boys, and that if we are to save them from their many perils and to build up our strength, the organization of boys should be made to cover at least two or three years before the close of their school days.

Yet this is but a preliminary step. Remembering the home surroundings of most of the boys of this class, we perceive at once their severe handicap in life's race. Their future is often no concern of their parents; indeed, even were the parents anxious, they are incapable of procuring suitable employment for them. It may cost us a blush to recall how our forefathers, half a century before Catholic Emancipation was secured, formed, in spite of the hardships of those days, a Beneficent Society, the object of which was "to start young Catholics in life by supplying money to put them out as apprentices to some trade."¹ The State nowadays provides in this necessity the splendid assistance of the Juvenile Labour Exchange. The private influence of Catholic business men, who take a keen personal interest in the welfare of our boys, is oftentimes calculated to secure better results. To help in these projects is assuredly to put Christian citizenship to excellent purpose.

¹ *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, by B. Ward, Vol. I., 32.

(b) *Our Girls*

A study of criminality among the young reveals a very illuminating fact. "About 85 per cent of habitual offenders under sixteen are males, and 15 per cent are females."¹ From this ascertained truth it is to be concluded that girls stand in no such dangers as boys through the years of childhood and early youth. The problem which girls occasion commences with budding womanhood. *The Handbook of Catholic Charitable and Social Works* discloses the number of reclaiming homes supplied to meet a dire need.² Nevertheless these excellent institutions only indicate the actuality of the problem: they present little idea of the extent of the malady to be remedied. Catholic organization has done magnificently towards cure; it has singularly failed in prevention. If we wish to learn how seriously lacking Catholic organization on behalf of young women has hitherto been, all that is necessary is to compare our ordinary method of pious sodalities with the thoroughly devised system which obtains among Catholics at Birkenhead. Supported by the bishop, by the priests of all the parishes, and by ladies whose pride it is to emulate one another in charity, the Irish Sisters of Charity have not only reduced the dangers of young women to a minimum, but through fostering a noble Catholic womanhood have raised the tone of the entire Catholic community. By breaking down parochial barriers, by pooling forces, by a wholesome rivalry in well-doing, this magnificent work has gone on for some fourteen years. We are unable here to offer more than a general suggestion: considerations of space forbid a description of this practical and successful endeavour. Were the example of Birkenhead, however, followed by the clergy, nuns, and lay women in all our larger cities and towns, Good Shepherd Homes would be in small requisition.³

The girl problem will likewise enforce upon social workers

¹ *Juvenile Offenders*, by W. G. Morrison, p. 43.

² See also *Ideals of Charity*, by V. M. Crawford, Chap. IX.

³ *Annual Reports*, Convent of the Sisters of Charity, St. Elizabeth's, Claughton Road, Birkenhead.

the necessity of Hostels for Women and Night-Shelters to meet the need of women-workers and female emigrants. On behalf of these latter, at certain of our seaports, charity calls for a much more careful vigilance and help.

(c) *School Clinics*

The title of this section suggests a matter of far greater seriousness than is ordinarily bestowed upon it. The recent report of Sir George Newman, M.D., the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, on the medical inspection of school children under the Act of 1907 should be in the hands of all Catholic School Managers and of all Catholic representatives on County or Borough Councils. Among the children at our primary schools are to be counted large numbers belonging to the poorest of the poor. In the circumstances no one except the ignorant will talk to-day about the encroachment upon parental responsibility by such a measure as the Elementary Education (Administration Provisions) Act. The fact is, that the more thought is given to the subject the more clear will it become that the State, in adding this Act to the statutes of the country, justly intervened for a national good no less than for the good of thousands of helpless sufferers, and that as the State has shown both mercy and justice, Catholics, in charity to their own poor as well as to other necessitous children, should strive to see that the Act is complied with according to the fullest extent of its spirit. The Act in truth leaves too much to local option. Take only one phase of the matter, malnutrition, which, for all the nineteen millions of meals provided last year, continues to affect school children in a high degree; trace its issue in education, character, religion and the future of the child, and there will be small reason to point to the percentages of various diseases in order to prove the necessity of school clinics. Were Local Education Authorities enlightened as to the merits of the 1907 Act, the immense benefits already credited to it would be largely extended. Here, then, in the name of charity, Catholics who aspire to the ideals of their Christian citizenship, and particularly those who, holding positions of trust,

stand under positive obligations, will find scope for salutary endeavour.¹

(d) *Thrift*

Thriftiness is an application of the natural virtue of prudence, the golden mean between niggardliness and wastefulness. In order that our young people may be encouraged to take an interest in their own social betterment, the cultivation of a spirit of thrift may be set down as one of the first steps. Large numbers of young men and women workers in regular employment, and of good, many indeed of large, wage, have easy chance of saving. They need friendly encouragement both by way of advice and by provision of opportunity. Following the fashion of the day, their one notion is to labour and to earn in order to spend and to waste. The result of this thoughtless improvidence is exceedingly grievous: it implies a lack of character; it means a devotedness to selfish indulgence, pleasure before duty; it is prejudicial to the establishment of happy, contented homes; it militates against self-sacrifice, which is the life-spring of religious practice. The Christian citizen will strive in this regard to befriend the young against their own undoing. Popular systems of banking are nowadays universal. Some Local Education authorities enforce school-banking. Where teachers willingly undertake the trouble involved and urge upon the children the duty of thrift, this device is excellent, for it familiarizes the impressionable mind of the child with the idea of saving, while it offers to very poor parents a means of putting by a few coppers weekly for the benefit of the child or the home—the pennies turning into boots and clothing for the children, or into a week's rent and food when the bread-winner falls out of work. There seems no obvious reason, too, why many of the Men's Clubs and the branches of the St. Vincent de Paul Society established in our parishes should not be made the channels of parochial banking through the Penny Bank system. The work attached to such an undertaking amounts to no more

¹ *The Reports of the School Medical Officer*, City of Bradford Education Committee, provide detailed practical suggestion.

than two hours a week, and in every club men may be found capable and ready to extend their hands thus far in helpfulness to their younger fellows.

To save is only one side of thrift. Thrift is largely a matter of education, and it does not seem altogether impracticable that our young people should be taught how to spend. An occasional popular lecture by a business man or woman would enlighten many ignorant on ordinary matters of economy, that to buy in the cheapest market is often the dearest method, or to favour the easy payment system is to render payment most difficult, and so forth. "Temperance," moreover, would be rid of many of its obstacles if thrift as a habit were ingrained in our young folk.

(e) *Retreats*

In building up the Catholic body to a full realization of Christian citizenship, time will manifest an ever increasing interest in the retreat movement, but especially in its relation to children. Our confidence in making this statement is founded on experience which may scarcely be contradicted.

"We have the satisfaction of knowing" [says the Archbishop of Liverpool] "that a generation is being trained up to regard an annual retreat as an event in their lives that they will not willingly forego."

"The concurrent testimony of the clergy and the school-teachers of those parishes which have availed themselves of the Cenacle retreats" [writes the Bishop of Salford] "is that they produce quite a remarkable effect upon the lives and characters of the children who have the privilege to share in them."¹

What these striking, matured judgments tell, others by the like practical experience will corroborate. The truth has begun to dawn upon Catholics that at length we possess an eminently Christian equipment which both fosters the spirit of religion and is formative of character—in one word, is calculated to prevent or repair even the terrible ravages of slum-life. If it could be everywhere seen how sure is the beneficial influence which the Convent of the Cenacle at Lance

¹ See *Retreats for Children*, C.S.G. Leaflet, No. 5.

Lane, Liverpool, is quietly exercising over the lives of the Catholic fish-wives of the city, all that is claimed for the retreat movement as a mould of Christian character would be speedily and universally acknowledged. When so great benefits accrue to adults of formed habits, to refuse them to the rising generation in the tender and pliable years were not merely bad policy but grave unkindness.

Furthermore, while Christian citizenship is excellent in its aims and duties, it is not to be imagined that the activity which it calls forth is immune from all dangers, dangers the more real in that Catholics in England, by their peculiar situation amid an overwhelming majority with different ideals, have something besides natural weakness to ward off and combat. Wherefore in the circumstances of the times retreats will be recognized to be a growing necessity.

To regard an annual retreat as a modern need for oneself just as is an annual holiday, to cultivate Catholic opinion as to the benefits to be derived from retreats, to subscribe towards the establishment of retreat houses or to the better provision of those already erected—these are matters inviting the most serious attention of Christian citizens.¹

(f) *Public Office*

The suggestion that Christian citizenship requires of the Catholic laity a fuller realization of public duty is obvious. Public office, shirked by so large a number of citizens whose capacities and experience fit them best for wise and effective government, should be the ambition of the Catholic laity. Except on the Board of Guardians, by co-option on the Local Education Committee, or on County or Urban Councils, the priest is debarred from participation in these duties both by law and the claims of his ministry. Wherever, therefore, the Catholic layman or woman perceives a chance of successful work for the public good within reach, the demands of Christian citizenship should override shyness or love of ease. The Houses of Parliament, the County, Borough, and Urban Councils, the Board of Guardians, the

¹ *Retreats for the People*, by C. D. Plater, S.J.

Trade Union Committee, the Magistracy—there is no office which the Christian citizen should allow to go begging if he can serve therein the public weal.

This manual does not include within its scope a detailed explanation of each department of public office. Our business has been to set forth the ethical principles underlying the rights and duties of Christian citizenship. Moreover, there has been published quite a sufficient number of manuals on citizenship dealing with the civic as distinct from the ethical point of view.¹ Here, then, we confine ourselves to a comment or two respecting the way in which public office should be discharged. The candidate for public honours should prepare himself as far as may be by thorough knowledge for the proper fulfilment of the duties attached to office. Success at the polls, for instance, goes for exceedingly little in the making of the City or Town Councillor.

“Unhappily only too often local administration, where it is not actually corrupt, is inspired by no higher ideal than that of cheese-paring economy. It is often the fashion to deride municipal politics as beneath the notice of educated people and to leave it to a class of persons who have their own petty ambitions to serve.”²

It behoves the Christian citizen, then, to be thorough. If he aspires to the City Council, it is not enough that he should be acquainted with the mere headings of the council's responsibilities—the preservation of order, the lighting, paving and cleansing of streets, the water supply, public health, markets, burial grounds, the provision of parks and recreation grounds, free libraries, the prevention of food adulteration, tramways, housing, etc. Such matters are regulated by the niceties of law, and are in themselves replete with technicalities; they affect the whole community of the townspeople for their greater or lesser well-being and reach deeply into their purses. The Council

¹ E.g., *First Notions on Social Service*, Manual V., C.S.G. *A Primer of English Citizenship*, by F. Swann (this book is among the best).

² C.S.G. Manual No. V., p. 36.

Chamber gives no guarantee of intuition, and experience, to be of profit, presupposes knowledge. A council either will be entirely in the hands of its professional experts and run the risk of adopting many a fantastic scheme or it will devise plans on immature and imperfect grounds—in either instance imposing on the citizens a heavy burden of unnecessary rates—unless it be composed of members alert to the best interests of the people they represent. We do not say that thoroughness in each of the above subjects can be expected of any, not to say every, candidate for the City Council, but thoroughness in some reasonable degree should be regarded as a prerequisite for a man upon whose judgment widespread good or harm depends.

There are two branches of knowledge, however, with which an aspirant to the City Council should at least be familiar. The first of these embraces a study of the social and economic position of his fellow-citizens. Government tends by justice to reach unto all, and to deal fairly by all an intimate understanding of the various classes composing the civic community is essential. The Catholic, in his most praiseworthy ambition to devote himself to public service, is fortunate in possessing an efficient school wherein to learn the lot of his fellows. The brothers of St. Vincent de Paul, the Patrol Masters of Catholic Boy Scouts, indeed all Catholic charitable organization affords valuable means by which the better-to-do Catholic may gain an insight into the lives of the poor.

The second branch of knowledge to which we refer comprises a sound grasp of the principles of taxation. There is something of the nature of dishonesty in allowing oneself to incur the trust of public moneys without the knowledge whereby to act up to it. In this important matter the Catholic Social Guild has undertaken to assist Catholics by its Study Scheme, which provides Preliminary and Advanced Courses in Political Economy.

For the rest it is hardly necessary to state that the representative of the people in the City Chamber must be of invulnerable honesty. What comes his way in business through the advertisement which public office brings is his

desert, but to have recourse to corruption in any shape is a betrayal of his responsibility, from which there is no escape in conscience.

We have used the City Councillor as an illustration: the same is true of every public office.

(g) *The Catholic Press*

We are unable to devote more than a mere notice to this subject, though this fact does not diminish its truly serious relation to Christian citizenship. In the face of facts the apathy of Catholics in general towards the Catholic Press is puzzling. The hierarchy has showered blessings upon the Catholic Press, and has expressed approbation of every resolution which proffered practical means for its promulgation. Bishops have written pastorals to their clergy and laity advocating its diffusion. Moreover, none of the usual excuses—political bias, poverty of interest, lack of enterprise, poor equipment—even if well-grounded, really hold good, for the shortcomings of the Catholic Press are largely due to lack of support. The potential influence of a strong Catholic Press cannot be denied. The experience of other countries may not be lightly dismissed by Catholics in England—where Catholics have arrived at any fair realization of their Christian citizenship, they have had to shake off their apathy to the Catholic Press. This has been proven in Belgium, Holland, France, Germany; may it soon be given similar proof in England.¹

(h) *Social Study at Secondary Schools*

Social study as an initial step to practical Christian citizenship is fast becoming "popular" among Catholics. The progress here has been remarkable. Last year there were about thirty study-clubs all told. In the present year there are over 100 in England alone, with about 1,500 students. This feature of Catholic activity is a certain sign that the duties of Christian citizenship in the vigour of their justice and charity will be faithfully carried out by the twentieth-

¹ *The Apostolate of the Press*, by C. D. Plater, S.J.

century Catholic. If a suggestion on this score be at all necessary, it is to call the notice of the reader to the C.S.G. *Year Book* for 1914, pp. 179-183, where a list of Social Study Clubs is compiled. Yet the illuminative portion of this appendix lies in its omissions—thus, comparing diocese with diocese, the south with the north of England, the need respecting social study is at once unfolded.

Our main point here, however, is with social study at Catholic Secondary Schools. In building up we must try to keep an eye upon the position of the key-stone. Now in so far as the boys and girls at our secondary schools, by reason of their future prospects, may be regarded as the better able "to render more effectual aid" to their Church and their country, evidently so much the greater is the obligation of those upon whom their education devolves of preparing them for these duties. Catholic education has succeeded well in emphasizing the duty of personal goodness; it has not aimed so effectively at developing "the social sense," the unfortunate issue of which has been and is the estrangement of class from class among the Catholic community. Light and leading in Christian citizenship must spring chiefly from the educated class. So long as Catholic education fails to create a true Christian sympathy between the classes, and charity, the spirit of Christian brotherhood, is wanting among the more favoured for their less fortunate co-religionists, Christian citizenship among Catholics can hardly be considered practicable. Gradually, it is refreshing to learn, this defect in Catholic education is being cured. Clerical students are being trained to take their place as leaders. With regard to lay students, while the crowded curriculum seems to leave little room for the particular study of civics, the recent scheme of "Social Study for Catholic Schools," devised by the C.S.G., "has met with a most encouraging response from many of our best schools." This is but a beginning. When they whose weighty charge it is to educate the young realize how Christianity relates to citizenship, and how Christian citizenship is the one practical combative force with which to defeat the onset of the twentieth-century worldliness in its manifold methods of

attack against religion and society, then will Catholic educationists themselves discover additional means for the rearing of men and women of sterling Catholicism such as the Church and the State alike demand.

READINGS ON CHAPTER IV

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Encyclical Letter, "Libertas Praestantissimum, *The Pope and the People*.

Duty, by W. Graham.

Socialism and Christianity, by W. Stang, Chapter VII.

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CATHOLIC STUDIES IN SOCIAL REFORM

A SERIES OF MANUALS
EDITED BY
THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD *6 cons. 6 Catholic*

VII.
THE
DRINK QUESTION

BY THE
REV. JOSEPH KEATING, S. J.
Editor of "The Month"

LONDON
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1914

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PREFACE

IN discussing a subject which, in the case of many people, touches purse and person very nearly, which threatens to alter cherished habits and interfere with liberty, which for at least a century has been the battlefield of rival theories and interests, it is necessary at the outset to state one's point of view and to disclaim, as far as may be, any irrational and unfounded prejudice. A teetotaler should obviously make it his aim to write about the Drink Question with sobriety. Whatever convictions he holds on the matter should not be asserted without adequate proofs : views which, for lack of conclusive evidence, are still disputable, should not be stated as certain ; the whole field should be surveyed ; objections should be duly weighed and carefully answered. Above all, his very zeal for the removal of the evils he deplures should prevent him from weakening his cause by the introduction of principles which are unsound or statements that are inaccurate ; and the remedies he proposes should be essentially practical, taking into account the unalterable facts of human nature and what is unalterable in human conditions. Like every other good cause, that of Total Abstinence has suffered from the advocacy

of the fanatical and the ill-instructed. Much of the prejudice with which it meets is due to the Phariseism or Manichæism of certain of its upholders, which has betrayed them into assertions either grossly exaggerated or wholly contrary to fact and principle. As we have said, it shares that fate with others. The cause of Peace, of Kindness to Animals, of the Emancipation of Women, nay, of Religion itself—all these are frequently exposed to injury at the hands of injudicious defenders; so true is it that zeal unregulated by prudence—*vis consili expers*—is self-destructive.

In the teaching of the Catholic Church no countenance is given to fanaticism. While steadily upholding the ideal, she confines her requirements to what is at the moment practical. She does not commit the folly of confounding counsel and precept: maintaining the essential obligations of morality for all, she recognizes degrees of perfection and varieties of vocation. On the other hand, well-versed in the frailties of human nature, she knows, too, the power of Divine grace. Consequently she brings to the consideration of the problem under debate profound knowledge and mature wisdom, and none of the remedies she suggests or approves will be found lacking either in moderation or in insight.

The following pages, in accordance with the general aim of the series, are an attempt to give a clear analysis of that vast sociological problem, the Drink Question, and to state to what extent and in what way Catholic principles are concerned in its

solution. It is a matter of interest to every sincere Christian. The authorities of the Church give every encouragement to the Catholic Temperance Movement, which alone shows that it is in accordance with her spirit. As lately as last April, 250 delegates from the "International Catholic Anti-Alcoholic Congress," assembled in Rome, received from the Pope a most cordial letter of approval and support, wherein His Holiness commends especially the utility of showing

"what a scourge alcoholism is, in its economical, moral and physiological effects, by displaying its connexion with the deterioration of the individual, whose health, intelligence, conscience and liberty are diminished and ruined by it ; its connexion with the deterioration of the family, in which it engenders confusion and disorder ; with the deterioration of society, whose most important interests are menaced by it" ;

and he concludes :—

"Hence among social works there is none more pressing than this."

On a right understanding of this problem, therefore, very much must depend. Its ultimate solution must come in these democratic days from a sane and enlightened public opinion, approving of just and prudent legislation. As a contribution to that right understanding, the present discussion of the question is under the auspices of the Catholic Social Guild, respectfully submitted by

THE AUTHOR.

31, FARM ST.,
BERKELEY SQ., W.

THE DRINK QUESTION

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE QUESTION

I. *The Problem stated.*

THE Drink Question concerns in varying degree both the individual and the community, and so it has many aspects—moral, sociological, economic, historical, political. It may sometimes be the duty of the individual to determine very definitely in his own interest to what extent he should make use of alcoholic beverages: it is always the task of the community, in view of the general welfare, to settle how far it should permit the drink-traffic. The question arises in regard to no other article of diet, liquid or solid. There is no meat-problem or tea-problem—except, indeed, the problem created for the indigent by the lack of such commodities. It is the character itself of alcohol that calls for consideration and action: it is the existence in nature of a chemical compound, the constituents of which are widely distributed and therefore easily procured, and which, admitted into the human system, has certain strong and immediate effects upon both body and mind—it is this that demands the control both of the individual conscience and of those responsible for social welfare. For, joined to the fact of the existence of this substance, which is, speaking generally, pleasurable in its immediate but harmful in its remote effects, we have the fact that many of the community, if left entirely to themselves, cannot be trusted to use it properly and to avoid excess.

2. What is "Strong Drink"?

To understand the Drink Question, then, we must first determine clearly what is meant by strong drink, and what both experience and medical science have taught us of its effects on the human body and mind. Strong drink is the name given to liquid substances into the composition of which enters a notable amount of alcohol. It is the presence of this ingredient that differentiates the compound from all other liquids, and is responsible for the physical and social phenomena associated with its consumption.¹ The chemical formula for ordinary alcohol is C_2H_6O , showing that it is a compound of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen. Why these elements, which in other combinations enter into the very constitution of the human body, should, thus compounded, have intoxicating or poisonous effects need not be investigated here. It is enough to say that the same harmless elements enter into the composition of the acknowledged poisons, strychnine, morphine, etc. Alcohol does not exist in nature as a separate substance. It is a manufactured compound, obtained by the fermentation of sugar or starch, a process which liberates carbon dioxide from the sugar solution and leaves water and alcohol in the proportion of 87 to 13. That is to say, when the alcohol set free reaches 13 per cent of the whole, fermentation, which is caused by a vegetable process, viz., the growth of the yeast plant, automatically ceases. Fermented liquors, therefore, i.e., beers and wines, can never contain more than 13 per cent of alcohol as a result of the process, although, of course, a greater quantity may be added subsequently. Alcohol in a larger proportion is obtained directly by distillation, i.e., by heating fermented liquids so that their alcohol passes off in vapour which is again condensed. Thus are produced the many varieties of "spirits." In beers the percentage of alcohol ranges from 4 to 7 per cent,

¹ At the same time, amongst the vast variety of beverages containing alcohol, many have other toxic ingredients as well—"malt liquors, for example, irritate far beyond their alcoholic strength." O'Malley, *The Cure of Alcoholism*, p. 7 (Herder).

in ordinary wines from 9 to 22 per cent, in spirits from 40 to 56 per cent.¹ However, as far as results are concerned, the process of manufacture makes no matter: it is the presence of alcohol in greater or less proportion that constitutes strong drink.

3. *Is Alcohol a Food?* No.

There has been and still lingers a prolonged controversy amongst medical men as to the final classification of alcohol. Is it to be reckoned as a food or not?—a food being something that can be assimilated and used by the human organism for the supply of waste. A lay person cannot well interfere magisterially in such a dispute; still, such a one is competent to judge of its general upshot as declared by responsible authorities. We may first quote the expert employed by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XI edition), who, writing on "Alcohol" (*Pharmacology, Toxicology, and Therapeutics of*), says, in regard to one branch of its use:

"The desirable effects produced by alcohol on the stomach are worth obtaining only in cases of acute diseases. In chronic disease and in health the use of alcohol as an aid to digestion is without the support of clinical or laboratory experience, the beneficial action being at least neutralized by undesirable effects produced elsewhere."

Then, after pointing out its value as a *drug* in cases of syncope, he continues:

"The drug exerts a noteworthy action upon the body-temperature. As it dilates the blood-vessels of the skin it increases the subjective sensation of warmth. The actual consequence, however, is that more heat than before is necessarily lost from the surface of the body. Alcohol also diminishes the oxidation which is the main source of the body heat. It follows that the drug is an anti-pyretic, and it is hence largely used in fevers as a means

¹ It is well known that various patent tonics, medicated wines, "meat extracts," and the like, even those warranted "free from alcohol" and "recommended for inebriates," contain a high percentage of this substance. See analysed list of 60 American proprietary tonics in O'Malley, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

of reducing the temperature.¹ The largest amount of alcohol that can be burnt up within the healthy body in twenty-four hours is $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz., but it must be consumed in great dilution and divided into small doses, taken every four hours."

Testimony to the same effect is given in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Alcoholism," where it is claimed that :

"Modern knowledge justifies the belief that in health alcohol is never a food in any sense, be the quantity great or small, but is always a poison, biologically or physiologically speaking ; in disease it is neither a food nor a poison, but may be a suitable or helpful drug. It should be rightly called what it rightly is, a drug, and not a drink : a narcotic, and not a tonic."

This opinion is endorsed by many medical pronouncements, both corporate and individual, and it would appear that there is a growing consensus in its favour.

In the year 1903 an international manifesto, signed by 634 doctors, including some of the most eminent names in Europe and America, was published to the effect that :

"(1) Experiments have demonstrated that even small quantities of alcohol are injurious and that it is not a food ; (2) that it increases liability to disease and shortens life ; (3) that all animal functions are best performed without alcohol, any contrary opinion being a delusion ; (4) that alcohol injures the offspring and leads to the deterioration of the race, especially when taken by mothers."

A still more significant document of British origin was issued in July 1904. This was a petition signed by 14,718 registered doctors and presented to the English Board of Education urging that instruction on various points of hygiene, and particularly on the harmful nature and results of alcohol, should be made compulsory in public elementary schools. In accordance with this petition a Temperance

¹ It would seem from hospital practice that its use in fevers is becoming less recognized. Whereas in 1895 the London Metropolitan hospitals spent £80 per 1000 fever patients on "stimulants," in 1909 the expenditure was £9, and the decrease in the interval was practically uniform. Horsley and Sturge, *Alcohol and the Human Body*, pp. 7, 8.

Syllabus came into force in 1909. Three years earlier the Irish Education Commissioners had introduced a similar syllabus, and a year later the Scottish Department followed suit. Moreover, in March 1907, at a largely-attended meeting of medical men in London, very strong condemnatory views of the use of alcohol in health were expressed.

4. *Is Alcohol a Food?* Yes.

But now occurred one of those incidents which inevitably throw a certain amount of discredit on all medical assertions of this sort. The *Lancet* at the end of the same month published a manifesto claiming to represent "the opinions of the leading clinical teachers as well as of the great majority of medical practitioners." After eulogizing alcohol as a "rapid and trustworthy restorative in disease" the manifesto proceeds:

"As an article of diet we hold that the universal belief of civilized mankind that the moderate use of alcoholic beverages is, for adults, usually beneficial, is amply justified."

Attached to this document were the names of sixteen eminent physicians, men who, like Sir W. Bennett and Sir James Crichton-Browne, are at the top of their profession in their respective branches. A counter-statement of this kind, claiming to voice the opinions of the bulk of the faculty, would go far to show that the true nature of alcohol is still undecided. On the other hand, it remains, as far as we know, a solitary pronouncement on that particular side, and it was itself immediately challenged with the utmost vigour by other equally experienced physicians, like Sir Frederick Treves and Sir James Barr. Their manifesto, which also appeared in the *Lancet*, stated with regard to the previous document: "We gravely dissent from such of its teaching, nor can we accept it as an authoritative statement of recognized medical opinion on the matter"; and they proceeded: "We strongly believe that alcohol is unnecessary as an article of consumption in the case of healthy men and women, and that its general use could be discontinued without detriment to the world's welfare"—a

cautious statement which gathers weight from its studious moderation.¹

5. *Balance of opinion against the Food-value of Alcohol.*

When we turn to the assertions of individual physicians we find, naturally enough, the same phenomenon—a series of weighty pronouncements condemnatory of the use of alcohol,² and a number, not so large nor perhaps so weighty, of pleas for its use. This indecisive note regarding a matter which has been under close observation for at least a century is somewhat disconcerting to those who seek for guidance, but it would seem due, partially at least, to the vagueness of the word “moderate” in connexion with drinking, to a confusion between the effects of strong drink in health and in disease, and to its claims to be a food as well as a drug. Still, by this time the lay mind has a right, one would think, to expect from the faculty a reasoned and fairly unanimous decision as to the physical effects of the consumption of alcohol in whatever quantity or combination.³

6. *A Medical Indictment of Alcohol.*

No doubt some physicians have responded to the call.

¹ Other more recent and more emphatic declarations might be cited, that, for instance, of 101 doctors in North Wales (May 1910) deprecating use of alcohol even in disease; that of 50 Birmingham doctors (Jan. 1912) condemning its use even in small quantities; that of 160 Midland doctors in 1913, denying that alcohol is useful either as a food or a drug.

² See *Doctors and Drinking*. 1d. (U.K. Alliance). *The Drink Handbook* (Irish Messenger Office).

³ We are still told of the nourishing qualities of this or that alcoholic beverage. “There is more nourishment in a bottle of porter,” said an Irish Guardian of the Poor recently, “than in a whole sheep.” (Quoted by Rev. W. J. Mulcahy, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August 1913. Porter, as a matter of fact, contains less nourishment than ale, and in one pint of Bass there are 8284 grains of water, 449 of alcohol, 400 of dextrine or gum (sugar), and a few grains of albumen. Baron Liebig’s testimony is better worthy of credence: “As much flour or meal as will lie on the point of a table-knife is more nutritious than nine quarts of the best beer. . . . Beer, wine, spirits, etc., furnish no element capable of entering into the composition of blood, muscular fibre, or any part which is the seat of the vital principle.”

No student of the subject can ignore *Alcohol and the Human Body*, by Sir Victor Horsley and Dr. Mary Sturge,¹ which is a calmly scientific and thoroughly exhaustive discussion of alcohol in illustration of its effects upon the nervous system, the intellect and various intellectual processes, the digestion and internal organs, the blood and the heart, and the general health of the whole body. The investigation is very minute and well supported by experiment and observation, and the result pronounces against the use of alcohol all along the line. We have seen no detailed answer to this book: only general statements to the effect that one cannot argue from the effects of pure alcohol to its effects in combination, or from the effects of alcohol on plants and irrational animals to its effects on human beings. Individual contentions to be found in the book have been disputed, as, for instance, the impaired vitality of the children of drunken parents,² but it remains the most formidable indictment of the use of alcohol ever penned. Perhaps, however, the summary which we take from Dr. O'Malley of the chief distinctions between food and alcohol will command a wider acceptance as being less dogmatically expressed:

- " 1. The same quantity of food will always produce the same effect in a healthy body: the quantity of alcohol must be steadily increased to produce the first given effect.
- " 2. The habitual use of food does not induce a desire for an ever-increasing amount: such use of alcohol induces this desire.
- " 3. After habitual use of food a sudden abstinence causes no derangement of the central nervous system: such abstinence from alcohol after habitual use causes this disturbance.
- " 4. Foods oxidize slowly in the body: alcohol oxidizes rapidly.
- " 5. Foods are stored in the body: alcohol is not stored.
- " 6. Food increases the activity of the muscular and cerebral cells: alcohol diminishes this activity.

¹ Fourth Edition, 1911 (Macmillan, 1s.).

² See correspondence in *The Times* initiated May 21, 1911, by Dr. Karl Pearson, whose contention is refuted by Sir Thomas Whittaker in "Drink and Degeneracy" (*Alliance Year-Book*, 1911, p. 17).

"7. Food increases the excretion of carbonic acid : alcohol diminishes it.

"8. Food strengthens and steadies the muscles : alcohol weakens and unsteadies the muscles."¹

7. *Disuse of Alcohol in Hospital-treatment.*

There remain two other evidences as to the effects of strong drink, which, being in a sense impersonal and quite objective, may carry more weight than the warnings of individuals. These are the growing disuse of stimulants in public hospitals, and the attitude of the insurance companies towards the drinker. A few words on each will suffice.

Statistics² from seven large London hospitals show that the expenditure on alcoholic liquors dropped in the forty years ending 1902 from £7,712 to £2,925, whilst that on milk rose from £3,026 to £9,035 in the same period, the numbers of patients continually increasing the while. In thirty years at the Wandsworth Union the annual cost of wine and spirits fell from £371 to £2 7s. 5d., whilst the patients increased fourfold. In twelve Dublin hospitals the expenditure on stimulants totalled in 1909 £321 1s. 9d. whereas in 1884 it had been £1,330 16s. 7d., a decrease of 82 per cent. The *per capita* expenditure in the Leeds General Infirmary was 6s. 6d. in 1869, and in 1912, only 2d. There seems no doubt that this experience is general, and it obviously argues greater abstinence from stimulants amongst the staff and a decreasing employment of them for the patients.

8. *Witness of Insurance Societies against the Drinker.*

Health Insurance Societies, with their careful investigations and prolonged and widespread experience, afford perhaps the most striking testimony against the benefit to health and longevity of intoxicating beverages.

¹ *The Cure of Alcoholism*, by A. O'Malley, pp. 11-12.

² Quoted in *Alcohol and the Human Body*, pp. 4-8.

From Insurance statistics quoted by Norman Porritt,¹ we gather that total abstainers have a greater expectation of life over the average "English life," ranging from about seven or eight years at the age of sixteen to two or three years at the age of fifty. Moreover, 7 per 1,000 non-abstainers, and only 5 per 1,000 abstainers die at the age of twenty-five, whilst at the age of sixty the mortality per 1,000 is—non-abstainers, 39 abstainers 25. Similar results are obtained in regard to sickness liability, in spite of the additional years of the abstainers, showing that life is not only more prolonged, but healthier, if lived without alcoholic stimulants. Now, the number of habitual drunkards amongst voluntarily insured people² is not large, because the percentage of the population thus addicted is not itself very great, and of these very few are admitted to insurance; hence the invalidity and abbreviation of life borne out by these figures, which give us exact knowledge, is directly traceable to alcohol *taken in moderation*. Apart from accident and other abnormal circumstances, the drinker, even though he does not rank as immoderate, has on the average an appreciably shorter and less healthy life than the abstainer.

9. *Summary of General Effects.*

Our study of the nature of the drink question has brought us thus far, viz., that the substance which gives to intoxicating beverages their attraction must be ranked with the poisons, not with the genuine foods; moreover, that, to make it innocuous to the human system, it must be taken in very small quantities and copiously diluted. It is useful, or at any rate still used, as a remedy for certain diseases: the healthy human body, most doctors will say, is better without it. But being pleasant in some of its immediate effects on body and mind, it is used habitually by a vast number of people, by many of them to excess.

¹ Article on "National Insurance and the Drink Problem," *Alliance Year-Book for 1913*. See also *Fifty Doctors against Alcohol*, p. 90; Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, article "Drunkenness."

² The figures above do not rest, of course, upon the returns of the present National Insurance Act.

This fact forms the second element in the problem which we must now consider.

10. *The Proper Function of Natural Appetites.*

The restraint which organized society must exercise on those of its members who are, generally speaking, too morally weak to withstand constant temptation to anti-social excess arises from the nature of temptation itself. Temptation in general is an appeal to passion or appetite to gratify itself at the expense of higher or wider interests. Body and soul alike, we are equipped with various desires and exigencies, the due satisfaction of which promotes our development. The race would perish but for the sexual instinct; the body would grow feeble and waste away but for the craving for food and drink; the mind would stagnate into atrophy but for the impulses of curiosity. Still, all these tendencies are instinctive, not rational. They react uniformly in presence of their appropriate objects, irrespective of all other circumstances. As means to an end, not ends in themselves, they need the control and guidance of reason to attain the object for which they are intended. For of themselves they provide no check save that which arises from exhaustion. If over-exercised, they become blunted and deadened, requiring a growing intensity of stimulus. Thus, apart from any higher law, enlightened self-interest counsels moderation.

11. *The Abuse of Appetite.*

But few individuals are uniformly led by what is best in the long run, and mankind in the bulk is always ready to forgo future advantage for the sake of present enjoyment. Consequently, in the general interest, the State has to enact a variety of restrictive laws, the object of which is to lessen the force of temptations leading to injurious excess, either by diminishing the occasions of wrong-doing or adding positive penalties to those induced by nature. As regards its citizens the State acts as wise parents do in regard to their children. Before reason begins to operate, children are ruled entirely by the will of others. When reason dawns,

it is appealed to, and the better trained the child is, the less external law is needed to control it. A perfectly educated child not only knows what is right but does it easily and willingly. The operation of conscience obviates to a large extent the necessity of a rule imposed from without.

But what is possible in the small community of the family is not to be looked for in society at large. The whole history of the world shows that, under whatever religious dispensation and in whatever degree of material civilization, many men elect to guide themselves in certain particulars by appetite rather than by reason and law. Because the Creator has attached pleasurable sensations to certain bodily functions to secure their being duly employed, many people exercise those functions merely for the sake of the pleasure, disregarding or even counteracting the ordained end. Liberty of choice, joined with the power of shutting one's eyes to remoter consequences, takes, as a matter of historical fact, this particular direction, and it would be flying in the face of all experience for those in authority to leave this out of consideration.

12. *The Duty of the State.*

Law has been defined as "a regulation according to reason promulgated by the head of a community for the common welfare."¹

Therefore, the more one is ruled by reason the less will he need the control of law. But, until reason is universally restored to its lawful pre-eminence, its dictates must be supported by external authority clothed with the prerogative of force. Mankind is still, morally considered, in an infantile condition, not because men have not come to the use of reason, but because they will not use the reason they have. "Quarry the granite rock with razors," cries Newman, "or moor the vessel with a thread of silk: then may you hope, with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason, to contend against those giants, the passion and the pride of man." There is much truth in Paine's dictum—"Society is produced by our wants

¹ St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I-II, 90, 4.

and *Government by our wickedness.*" And even were the vast majority reasonable and temperate, still, the presence in society of others who had thrown off the moral law, would of itself necessitate much restrictive legislation. Law is for the repression of the wicked and the help of the weak, yet its yoke must also be borne by the strong and the good, because we are all members one of another. Immense sums must be spent by the community in maintaining a police force because otherwise certain of its members would rob, or murder, or violate social justice in other ways. Again, human law must come to the aid of morality in its narrower sense owing to the sad perversion of the means of reproduction which, too prevalent as it is, would be far more common and disastrous if wholly unchecked. And, in regard to our immediate subject, the appeal made to bodily appetite by alcoholic liquor proves, and has always proved, too strong for many people to resist. Therefore the State contrives to make such drink comparatively dear and somewhat difficult of access. It hedges round its sale with various restrictions as regards time and place and quantity. Moreover, it punishes the individual who drinks to excess, especially if his condition is a danger to others.

13. *The Boundaries of Liberty and Law.*

One aspect of the Drink Question, therefore, is how far, for the interests of the weak and the correction of the vicious, external authority can proceed by restrictive legislation without unduly interfering with personal liberty, and thus creating a greater abuse than that which it seeks to remedy. In times of martial law many abuses are swept away which would be immovable by process of ordinary legislation, but to live permanently under such summary jurisdiction would be to pay too dearly for its advantages. Thus, granting that there are many who can be trusted to use alcoholic liquor in moderation, we may question whether general sobriety would not be purchased at too high a price by total and drastic prohibition of the manufacture of strong drink. Is the abuse so general and so harmful and otherwise so irremediable as to justify the abolition of the use? Tem-

perance reformers in many lands have come to that conclusion, with what grounds in fact and principle we shall afterwards consider.¹ On the other hand, many, especially those interested in the sale of drink, will be found to regard further State interference as encroaching too far upon the liberty of the subject.²

14. *The great Importance of Liberty.*

For liberty, self-determination, freedom of choice, is a real good, a treasure to be jealously guarded as the highest prerogative of man and necessary for the accomplishment of his end. Unless there is freedom to choose, there is no merit in choosing aright; were there no temptations to excess, there were little credit in being moderate; if the penalties of wrong-doing were immediate and overwhelming, then virtue would be practically compulsory. It is no function, therefore, of the State, even were it possible, to remove every form of temptation and to apply to vice here below the sanctions which Providence has ordinarily reserved till the next life. No doubt, human Government would be easier if the possibilities of going wrong were diminished, but life would proportionately cease to be a school of character and a seed-plot of merit. The tendency of every authority is, in the interests of efficiency, speed, and economy, to override and suppress everything that cannot be reduced to system. The State, which in the divine order exists for the individual, in order to secure for him the mental, material, and social surroundings necessary for his development, is always under the temptation to

¹ See later, pp. 89, 90.

² On this point it is well to record that the preposterous notion of free-trade in strong drink, actually advocated to-day by certain opponents of temperance legislation, was repudiated more than half a century ago by the "Licensed Victuallers' Protection Association," who declared in their annual report: "Your Committee are anxious that every part of the community should feel and say that to throw open 'The Trade' would be to throw open the floodgates of vice and drunkenness, which would have the effect of counteracting the efforts made to instruct and elevate the people of the land." Whether dictated by regard for morality or monopoly, this statement is equally valuable. It is merely a question of degree of restriction.

look upon itself as an end in itself. One need only mention in illustration the later Napoleonic regime. Consequently, there is a real necessity to keep careful watch upon this tendency, lest under such an hallucination the State should sacrifice to mere symmetry much that is precious and indeed essential to progress.¹ There is always danger in rooting up tares, lest the wheat should also be destroyed.

A distinction must further be made which has a direct bearing on this question. Laws which aim at repressing what in itself is an evil thing, like robbery or impurity, are at once more necessary and more tolerable than those which merely aim at checking the abuse of something lawful. Greater vigilance is, therefore, needed in the latter case to prevent encroachment on liberty. Only burglars can complain of legislation necessary to protect property, whereas many reasonable men may feel aggrieved at Prohibition laws. This aspect, viz., the lawfulness of strong drink in moderation, viewed as a means of giving pleasure, is one which has been much obscured by earnest advocates of temperance, possessed of zeal not according to knowledge. It will be discussed more fully in the chapter on the Ethics of the Question.²

15. *Economic Complications.*

Hitherto, we have considered the matter merely from the point of view of the individual. If weak, he is safeguarded, if wicked he is checked, if strong he is incommoded by the methods adopted to diminish temptation. The balance of advantage, as we shall see later, rests with some degree of restriction. What the moderate man loses as an individual, he more than recovers as a member of a community kept from grave disorder by such legislation. But there is also the standpoint of the community as a whole to be considered. Besides the gain to order and decency which is received by

¹ A uniform system of State education would presumably make for cheapness and success, but since religion necessarily enters into education, and since this is a country of mixed religions, the attempt to enforce uniformity results in tyranny and injustice.

² *Infra*, p. 54.

lessening the abuse of strong drink, the State is benefited financially by the heavy taxes which it levies on this article of widespread consumption. The Drink Question is therefore complicated by the fact that the revenues of the community would suffer to a large extent were the demand for drink to be notably decreased. This point need only be mentioned here to indicate the presence of one factor in the problem which constantly operates to hinder or delay reforms—legal vested interests, public as well as private. Its force will be estimated later.

16. *Results in spite of Preventive Efforts.*

Now having briefly indicated the general factors involved—the existence of pleasant yet harmful beverages, the liberty and feebleness of the individual, the need of restraint, the function of the State, the conflicting claims of finance and social well-being, etc.—we may turn to the actual condition in which we find the Drink Question to-day. We have said that, men being what they are and strong drink being what it is, moral considerations alone do not prove powerful enough to prevent the former misusing the latter. It is a conclusion that might be established *a priori*. Let us now bring forward testimony in support of it, confining our attention mainly to the state of affairs in the British Isles.

Remembering that indulgence in strong drink is for most people a luxury, something—to put it in the mildest form—that is not necessary for bodily well-being, that can be given up without inconvenience or loss, we find that in the past three years the community spent £491,000,000 in this unnecessary fashion, the amounts for 1911, 1912, 1913 being respectively, £162,797,229, £161,553,330, £166,681,000.¹ The expenditure necessary for maintaining during the same period all national charges—the Army and Navy, Education, Law, and Police, Poor Law, Old Age Pensions, Insurance, Interest on the National Debt, etc., etc.—was £539,167,000,

¹ The "Drink Bill" is estimated by the amount of liquor retained for consumption reckoned at retail prices and not allowing for adulteration.

i.e. only about £48,000,000 more. In other words, if this voluntary tax on wages and income were abolished nearly enough money would be set free to pay all other national charges!¹ Moreover, the bulk of it, over £100,000,000, is provided by the wage-earners—by those, that is, the *whole* of whose wages and more is generally needed for the decent upkeep of themselves and families. This vast sum, therefore, spent on an article of luxury does not represent a surplus which might be spent or saved, but is withdrawn from what is required properly to feed and clothe and house those who spend it and their dependents. There are other forms of improvidence and extravagance, as we well know, but surely none that so gravely violates social order and justice.

17. *Other Evil Consequences.*

Our point is that this expenditure is excessive, in many cases absolutely, in very many relatively. The innocuous minimum of alcohol is habitually exceeded by those who drink, and more money is nearly always spent than can be afforded. And naturally the evil economic effects are most keenly felt by the wage-earners. The well-to-do may, and do, waste money and health in excessive drinking, but the social results of their folly are not so marked and manifest. The wage-earner, by drinking more than his body or purse allows, decreases his own productiveness, lives a more sickly life, dies earlier than he need, begets fewer and weaker children, and rears less advantageously those he has. These are some of the natural ill consequences. How greatly a habit of bodily self-indulgence injures, in the case of all classes, the spiritual faculties need hardly be pointed out. Man's perfection lies mainly in his spiritual development, in self-discipline, which means the supremacy of reason over appetite, in the cultivation of the mind and soul

¹ The State would, as just indicated, lose the revenue raised by the Drink Traffic, some £40,000,000, but much more than that would be saved in the reduction of various palliatives and remedies—hospitals asylums, poor-houses, police and magistrates, law-proceedings—necessitated in large measure by excess: see p. 76.

—all of which pursuits are hampered, if not positively counteracted, by serving and fostering beyond due limits a mere bodily desire, which not unseldom develops into an almost irresistible craving.

18. *Why, then, do People drink to Excess?*

This phenomenon forms part of the Drink Question and has been already touched upon. To resist a strong and persistent temptation a continued effort is necessary, which best takes the shape of devotion to a harmless counter-attraction of some sort. Owing to their imperfect and often de-Christianized education and the general circumstances of their lives, the bulk of those to whom drink is a strong temptation rarely have access to any counter-attraction. Their upbringing and environment make them weak of will. They need recreation, and in present conditions drink offers them the readiest and cheapest means of relief from the misery and monotony of their daily lives. We may cast much of the blame on this misery and monotony, not upon its poor victims. The Drink Question, after all, is not the most fundamental problem with which modern civilization is faced. It is true that excessive drinking intensifies all the other evils we deplore, but it is not the cause of them all. Sweating, bad housing, insufficient food, imperfect education, excessive facilities for excess, adulterated liquor even—all the de-humanizing elements that disgrace our industrial system, enter essentially into the Drink Question, and the remedies for all, to be effectual, must be sought simultaneously. A rise in wages, unaccompanied by a rise in recreative ideals, would but intensify the evil.

But drinking habits cannot altogether be put down to miserable environment, else excess would be unknown elsewhere. Ignorance of the true character of alcohol, fostered by secular tradition and not yet adequately dispelled by the medical faculty, goes for very much. Inveterate social habits, buttressed by centuries of literature, both poetry and prose, in praise of strong drink, count for something also. There is no doubt that alcoholic liquor breaks down the control which a person has over his own faculties, and therefore

removes that caution and self-regard which are apt to be a restraint on social intercourse. The reformer will gain nothing by shutting his eyes to the convivial qualities of strong drink. For their sake, the wage-earner will often waste his very substance, toil hard and late, go cold and hungry and steel his heart to the claims of his family. It is often the only pleasure he knows; it is certainly the easiest attainable: it is unfortunately one which enslaves while it pleases. So the drink problem will not be solved by mere exposition of the evils of excess: those who seek their pleasures so must not only be shielded by legislation¹ from unnecessary temptation, but must be given other and better means of recreation; must, indeed, if moral reformation is to be effective, be given other and higher motives than mere self-regarding prudence.

19. *Urgency of the Problem.*

The Problem remains in spite of centuries of legislative effort—a salutary testimony to the fact that physical remedies and external force will not cure moral disorders, although they may help. The State can do much to lessen the incidence of temptation: religion alone can adequately strengthen the will.

The Drink Question concerns the world as a whole. Nearly all other countries exhibit the same phenomena as do the British Isles. Germany is said to spend on intoxicants three times as much as she does on her Army and Navy, and seven times as much as on her schools. The United States, in spite of vigorous restrictive legislation, consumes but little less *per capita* than the United Kingdom. The amount in 1911 was \$1,568,470,514²—one and a half times the National Debt. In France and Russia, under systems of, practically, Free Trade and State Mono-

¹ In face of much foolish denial we have to insist on the need and the effectiveness of wise legislation in keeping the Drink Traffic under due control. Finland, fifty years ago the most drunken nation in Europe, has been sobered in two generations by wise laws both constructive and prohibitive.

² *The American Grocer*, quoted in O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

poly respectively, the expenditure on alcoholic liquor is increasing rapidly. The problem confronts us everywhere: it is a real peril to Christian civilization, a real drag on Christian progress. The constant and determined efforts of so many nations show that the question is not the creation of a few Puritanical faddists. Congresses, National and International, against Alcoholic Excess, are of yearly occurrence: war is being everywhere waged against the traditional ignorance of ages in regard to the nature of this problem, and against the malign influence of personal profit that exploits the disastrous drinking habit. The campaign has been a long one. For our present instruction we may glance at its past progress, conducted as it has been both by the regular and volunteer forces of the community, by the State and the temperance organizations.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION : STATE INTER- VENTION

I. *Scope of the History.*

BEFORE the use of alcoholic beverages became general, there was obviously no Drink Question, so its history begins when demand gave rise to brewing on a large scale. In this record, therefore, must be included an account of the growth of drinking habits amongst the people, of the official efforts made by the State to check them, and of the various voluntary agencies which have arisen both to safeguard individuals from the ravages of drink, and, by creating a public opinion adverse to its abuse, to prepare the ground for efficient legislation.

2. *Drunkenness an ancient Phenomenon.*

The exact date of the discovery of fermented liquor cannot, of course, be determined, but the story of Noah in Genesis shows that it was known shortly after, if not before, the Deluge. In the earliest literatures of every land are to be found references to drunkenness. The Scriptures of the Old Testament contain many warnings against the abuse of wine: Greek and Roman poets, and moralists in pagan times, were well aware of its dangerous qualities: the other Aryan races who overran the north of Europe brewed their own forms of intoxicants—beer and mead and cider. And in early Christian times we find, in the Apostolic writings and the subsequent commentaries upon them, a full recognition of the grave evil of drunkenness and some indication of its prevalence. St. Augustine, in the fourth century, preached against the vice in North

Africa with all the vehemence of a modern reformer ; tracing the evil customs of celebrating feasts by excessive drink to the survival of Paganism. St. Caesarius, in the south of France a hundred years later, initiated a temperance crusade amongst the half-civilized and lately converted barbarians who had subjugated the province. The Germanic races, as all records show, were much addicted to excess. But we may perhaps consider in more detail and with greater profit the spread of drunkenness amongst the earlier inhabitants of these islands. Although it would not be safe to take pulpit denunciations quite literally—the preacher, contemplating the ideal and carried away by feeling, does not always qualify his assertions as they demand—still, the testimony of early missionaries to Britain is too explicit and too consistent to leave room for doubt that there Christianity had to contend against the drunken habits of centuries of heathenism. St. Boniface, who was a Saxon, writing to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eighth century, says, “It is reported that in your dioceses the vice of drunkenness is too frequent,” affecting, he goes on to say, some of the pastors of the Church. “This is an evil,” he continues, “peculiar to pagans and to our race. Neither the Franks nor the Gauls, nor the Lombards, nor the Romans, nor the Greeks commit it.”¹ The successive conquests of the land by Danes and Normans did nothing to mitigate the evil. The Danes had nothing to learn from the English in this matter, and the Normans proved their apt pupils. William of Malmesbury attributed the downfall of Saxon England to the drunkenness of its people, and says that their conquerors also fell victims to the habit.²

Less information comes to us regarding the drinking habits of the ancient Irish. Gerald Barry, the Welsh writer (1175-1200), whilst praising the general zeal and decorum of the Irish clergy, insinuates that they made up for it by nightly potations, but he gives no evidence for his charge, and his anti-Irish bias largely discredits his

¹ Quoted by Bridgett, *The Discipline of Drink*, p. 77.

² Bridgett, *ibid.*, p. 78.

testimony. The ancient Irish penitentiaries cited in Cardinal Moran's *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, gives no indication of the frequency of drunkenness, nor does Bl. Edmund Campion, who wrote his *Account of Ireland* in 1571, speak of the people at large as being given to this vice. A more hostile witness, the poet Spencer, is equally silent. It would seem, however, that the general use of distilled spirits¹ as a beverage, a use which has profoundly modified the whole question, began in Ireland in the sixteenth century or earlier. But even there, owing to State action, its use became very much restricted until much later. The customs of Scotland resembled those of England, except that its close connection with France created a practice of drinking wine rather than ale.

3. *The Reformation and Drinking.*

It will not be denied, even by those who hold that the Reformation as a whole made for righteousness, that the general loosening of religious bonds and overthrow of ancient traditions which characterized that epoch, brought about a great increase in public vice. This result was inevitable. Remove or discredit the accepted traditional sanctions of sin, and temptation acquires a double force. By the Reformation the old penitential discipline of the Church was swept away and nothing effective put in its place. The consequence in regard to this particular form of immorality, excessive drinking, was most marked, and it has been commented on by most historians.

Cecil, in Elizabeth's reign, complained that "England spendeth more in wines in one year than it did in ancient

¹ Distillation, i.e. the extraction of the volatile essence of a substance by vaporizing and subsequently condensing it, seems to have been practised by the Arabians in early times, but the result as regards alcoholic liquids was looked upon as a purely chemical substance, when it was hit upon in the thirteenth century, and, on account of its potent qualities, styled *aqua vitæ*. Its manufacture seems to have reached greater perfection in Ireland in the sixteenth century, so that certain Irish distillers were brought over and settled in Pembrokeshire.

times in four years.”¹ Whatever restraining influence the ancient Church had exercised was now withdrawn, wholly as regards England and Scotland, where her power was practically shattered, and to a large extent in Ireland, where she was grievously crippled by persecution. From this time onwards drunkenness becomes a menace to the State, and from this time, as we shall presently see, dates the series of legislative enactments in restraint of the drink traffic, of which we have not yet seen the term.

4. *The Growth of Spirit-Drinking.*

We do not maintain that the overthrow of the ancient Church was the only cause of this. Another cause, indicated above, must take a large share of the responsibility, i.e. the gradual introduction of spirits as a beverage. On account of the immensely higher percentage of alcohol in this concentrated form, the effects of the drug so partaken are at once more marked and more speedily attained. Spirit-drinking, as will be seen presently, became a general practice in England precisely at a time when religious influences there were at their lowest ebb. We may best gather the growth and prevalence of the vice in post-Reformation England by considering the action of the State in its repression. But we may first cast a summary glance at what the community had hitherto done to control a practice, always dangerous to the welfare of the community

5. *The Action of the pre-Reformation Church.*

Before the religious dissensions of the sixteenth century, which set the State in opposition to the Church Catholic and created a subordinate ecclesiastical organization to take the place of the latter in these lands, the care of the moral welfare of this community was largely in the hands of the Church. The Government found her its most efficient ally in the maintenance of social order. Education was practically under her sole care, the poor were her particular charge, sins, which were also crimes and offences against public order, had remedies provided by her canonical

¹ Quoted by Green in his *History of the English People*, p 388.

legislation. Amongst these latter, drunkenness stood prominent, and her discipline was, if not successful in abolishing it, at least capable of keeping it from being a serious menace to public well-being. The ancient penitentiaries, as well as the pre-Reformation English Church Synods, contain much condemnation of excessive drinking, from the law of St. Anselm (1102) that "priests should not go to drinking assemblies nor drink down to the pegs,"¹ up to the eve of the Reformation.² The discipline imposed in the confessional upon repentant sinners doubtless did much to check the practice, especially as this penance generally included a period of total abstinence. In any case, it was not till this influence was removed that legal action in the way of suppression, as distinguished from mere regulation, was considered necessary. By breaking with its old comrade and helper, the State at the Reformation became saddled with many duties which it was ill-suited by nature or training to perform well. The Elizabethan Poor Law and the Edwardine Grammar Schools may be cited as typical examples, but perhaps the most striking is the largely unsuccessful combat then undertaken by the State against the evils of drink.

6. *The New Functions of the State.*

We have implied that, until the breach with the Church and the advent of spirituous beverages, the State was mainly concerned with the interests of the consumer, legislating against adulteration and inferior quality in every form. We have an early sample of this legislation in Scotland. The customs of the principal Scottish burghs were codified in the reign of David I (1124-1153) and became universally recognized law in that reign. Many are con-

¹ *Ad pinnas*, i.e. the pegs fixed at intervals in drinking horns by order of King Edgar to denote the lawful limit of a single draught. It is difficult to imagine that such a piece of legislation could ever have been effective.

² See a selection of these decrees in Bridgett, *op. cit.*, p. 167 sqq. An Irish Synod, that of Ardpatrik, as late as 1678 enacts "that no Priest drink distilled waters in any tavern or public meeting under pain of a fine of ten shillings."

cerned with the licensing of "brewsters" (originally women) and the appointment of "tasters" and overseers, and on the whole "the trade" of the day was subjected to a closer supervision than its modern successor would easily tolerate. In England, on account of the French possessions of the Norman Kings, a considerable amount of wine was imported, and the civil power, whilst encouraging this, also began to impose slight duties upon such goods, and thus arose the financial concern of the Government with the liquor traffic. Still, the securing of a fair price and a good wholesome article formed the chief aim of the State, indicating how early two main characteristics of the drink traffic,—adulteration and desire of excessive profits—began to display themselves.

7. State Restrictions on the Liquor Trade.

To turn now to the State legislation inspired by the desire, not to provide the citizens with good liquor, but to prevent them abusing such liquor as they got—as we have said, the first indication of the change is seen in the reign of Edward VI, when the licensing system was formally established as a remedy against public disorder, a system which has been needed, and which has remained, ever since. In 1552 it was enacted that—

"forasmuch as intolerable hurts and troubles to the Commonwealth do daily grow and increase through such abuses and disorders as are had and used in common ale-houses and other houses called 'tippling' houses"—

Justices of the peace could abolish such houses and none were to be opened without licence. Two years later the necessity of a licence was extended to wine sellers, and the number of public-houses was restricted to two in each borough, exceptions being granted in the case of large towns, such as London, which had forty. Wine, moreover, could not be consumed on the premises. However, the legislature is generally more active than the executive, and these enactments seem to have done little to prevent the multiplication of taverns, which were very numerous at the end of Elizabeth's reign. Still, the need of some check was univer-

sally recognized. The historian Camden, writing of the year 1581, claimed that, in comparison with the past, when "of all the Northern nations [the English were] the most commended for their sobriety," the drunkenness then so prevalent was still a recent vice, and with some show of reason ascribes it to the Dutch wars—"they first learnt in their wars with the Netherlands to drown themselves with immoderate drinking." There, we may note, they may have acquired a taste for gin or "Hollands." Other Elizabethan writers, such as Nash, confirm the fact and trace it to the same source. Iago does not trouble himself with origins, but emphasizes the result—"In England they are most potent in potting. Your Dane, your German and your swag-bellied Hollander are nothing to your English."¹

The phenomenon noted by all these writers was probably but the expression of the greater licence induced by bad example and the absence of religious restraint. Spirituous drinks, which were doubtless plentiful in the Netherlands, had already become an article of commerce in Scotland. In 1557 a licence was issued in Edinburgh for the sale of *aqua vitæ*, which had hitherto been a monopoly of the chemists. But even there the use of spirits spread very slowly. Over a hundred years later Glasgow began to raise money by licensing whisky sellers, but this was probably done to check the growing practice of unlicensed manufacture.

8. *Legislation under James I.*

Elizabeth was not a drunkard as was her successor James, yet under that monarch Parliament continued its endeavours to get a firmer statutory control of the drink-traffic. A distinction was asserted between inns, i.e., places of refreshment for travellers, and public-houses, the resort of idlers for the purpose of drink, and a drastic *bona-fide* law was passed which aimed at ending the latter, only "travellers and travellers' friends and labourers at their dinner-hour and lodgers" being allowed to be served with

¹ *Othello*, II. 3.

liquor. Each successive law complains of the ill-success of its predecessor—"abuses still do and are likely to increase," "the loathsome and odious sin of drunkenness is of late grown into common use," "the inordinate and extreme vice of excessive drinking and drunkenness doth more and more abound," being common phrases in these Acts. The upshot was that at the close of the reign there were no less than 13,000 licensed public-houses in England¹—a number enormously in excess of the statutory amount, and, in view of the fact that home-brewing was still common, considerably in excess also of the needs of the population, then numbering about five millions. The licensing system was applied to Ireland in 1634: Parliament in that country had as long before as 1554 confined the manufacture of "usquebaugh" to certain specified classes.

9. *Ill-advised action of the "Revolution" Government.*

What turned out a most disastrous policy was inaugurated by the English Government towards the end of the seventeenth century. Hitherto spirits had been an imported luxury from France, Holland, and Ireland: high duties put them beyond popular use, and the home-manufacture was severely restricted. Consequently, the prevalent drunkenness fed solely upon ale and wine. Now, the Government of the Revolution, out of hostility to France, forbade in 1689 the importation of foreign distilled liquors and removed most of the restrictions on home distilleries. The result indeed was not immediately apparent. The populace still clung to its beer, of which, according to Lecky, the consumption was prodigious.

"It was computed in 1688 that no less than 12,400,000 barrels were brewed in England in a single year, though the entire population probably little exceeded 5,000,000. In 1695, with a

¹ James' own country was not behind his new in this matter, if me may judge from an Act passed in the Scots Parliament in 1617 "for the restraynt of the wild and detestable vice of drunkenes dailie increasing to the heigh dishonour of God and gryit harme of the haill realme." This Act made drunkenness in itself, apart from its consequences, a crime, punishable by fine or imprisonment.

somewhat heavier excise, it sank to 11,350,000 barrels, but even then almost a third of the arable land of the kingdom was devoted to barley."¹

Not until the next generation did English distilling begin to assert its claims, but then it did so effectually enough. Lecky continues :

"It was not till about 1724 that the passion for gin-drinking appears to have infected the masses of the population, and it spread with the rapidity and violence of an epidemic. Small as is the place which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences that have flowed from it, the most momentous in that of the eighteenth century—incomparably more so than any event in the purely political or military annals of the country. The fatal passion for drink was at once, and irrevocably, planted in the nation. The average of British spirits distilled, which is said to have been only 527,000 gallons in 1664 and 2,000,000 in 1714, had risen in 1727 to 3,601,000, and in 1735 to 5,394,000 gallons."²

These are the words, not of a teetotal fanatic, but of a responsible historian, who goes on to cite instances in plenty of the moral degeneration that was caused by the gin-epidemic, and to tell of the frantic efforts of the legislature to bring it under control. Spirit-bars had been brought under the licensing system in 1701, heavier duties and licences imposed in 1728-9. In 1732 it was found that in London *one house out of every six* was licensed for the sale of alcoholic liquors : there were 15,288 drinking-places for a population of about 750,000 ! The high excise duties were repealed in that same year, as they gave an enormous development to illicit manufacture, but another desperate effort of the same kind was made in 1736 by the famous "Gin Act," imposing a duty of twenty shillings a gallon on all spirituous liquors and taxing retailers at £50 a year. The state of affairs which led to this enactment is thus described in a petition presented by the Middlesex magistrates, who declared :

"that the drinking of geneva and other distilled waters had for

¹ *England in the Eighteenth Century*, I. 3, 478.

² Lecky *op. cit.*, I. 3, 479.

some years past greatly increased : that the constant and excessive use thereof had destroyed thousands of His Majesty's subjects : that great numbers of others were by its use rendered unfit for useful labour, debauched in morals and drawn into all manner of vice and wickedness."

10. *Results of the Gin Act.*

But the gin-drinkers were not to be made sober by Act of Parliament. The enforcement of the Gin Act was met by violent riots, and, although the spirit that paid duty sank next year by about two million gallons, the clandestine trade, having public opinion behind it and being much more profitable, flourished all the more. In 1742 more than seven million gallons were consumed. Then the legislature in 1743 rushed to the other extreme, reduced the duty from twenty shillings to one penny, and the licence from fifty pounds to one pound, the idea being that the illicit trade must at all costs be destroyed. Naturally, drunkenness was not diminished, nor, apparently, was smuggling much affected by this measure, for in 1749, as Lecky relates, more than 4,000 persons were convicted of selling spirits without a licence. Finally, it was computed that at the mid-century the annual consumption of this harmful beverage was eleven million gallons.

At last, in 1751, the evil was attacked at its source and with more success. Distillers were prohibited, under penalty, from being retailers themselves or selling to unlicensed retailers. A check was put on exorbitant profits and credit-giving by making debts under twenty shillings irrecoverable at law. Restrictions as to the class of premises and on the discretion of justices to grant licences were also enforced and in many other ways, slight in themselves but strong in their cumulative effect, the tide of evil excess was stemmed, and to some extent brought under control. In 1755-6 the licensing system was extended to Scotland.

11. *Lessons of this mistaken Legislation.*

The whole experience of that fearful half-century proves two things conclusively, both of which are often forgotten or ignored by disputants about the Drink Question. The

first is that legislation in violent opposition to public opinion, if unsupported by other influences, is apt to miss its object, and even to produce worse disorder; the second, that legislation, judiciously framed and carefully applied, *can* do much to rectify public morals. Still, in this case the disease is not cured: drunkenness still remained a social evil of immense force. According to Lecky: "Since the beginning of the eighteenth century gin-drinking [he might reasonably have included the drinking of fermented liquors as well] has never ceased to be the main counteracting influence to the moral, intellectual and physical benefits that might be expected from increased commercial prosperity." One may quarrel with the view that the natural fruit of commercial prosperity is either moral or intellectual good: one cannot deny the historical evidence for vast wastage of all sorts of benefits, concerning body and soul alike, involved in excessive consumption of strong drink.

The need still persisting, legislation in control of the drink-traffic did not cease with the eighteenth century. Much was done to introduce uniformity into the licensing law, and also to give some measure of security to those entrusted with licences against arbitrary action on the part of the justices. The various changes are now of merely historical interest and need not detain us at any length.

12. *The Liquor Traffic as a Source of Revenue.*

Early in history, as we have seen, State interference assumed this double aspect. It aimed originally and chiefly at regulating the traffic in drink in the interests of public order, and its various monetary exactions had this object. But the money raised by duty on manufacture and import, and by licences for sale, soon reached a considerable amount, and the drink-traffic came to be regarded as a useful augmentation of the State income. According to Shadwell in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ("Liquor Laws") licensing for State revenue was first introduced in 1660, at the same time as duties on the manufacture of beer and spirits, but at first it concerned wines only. In the early eighteenth century licences were exacted for the sale of those other

varieties of alcoholic liquors, and by the end of it the system of annual excise licences was firmly established.

13. *More ill-judged Legislation : the " Duke of Wellington's " Act.*

In the nineteenth century several disastrous experiments in liquor legislation, akin to that perpetrated in 1689, deserve to be recorded. The experiences of the immediate past had convinced the authorities that the nation at large was much the worse for the habit of drinking spirits rather than beer. High duties on the former were unavailing. As usual illicit distilling was widely resorted to : this was met in 1823, as regards Ireland and Scotland, by lowering the duty per gallon from 6s. 2d. and 5s. 2d. respectively to 2s. 4½d., thus making it hardly worth while to incur the risks of smuggling and illicit distilling. When in 1825 the duty in England was lowered from 11s. 8½d. to 7s. a gallon, the apparent consumption rose at once from seven millions to nearly thirteen, suggesting to what extent the underground trade had been practised. Another plan was, therefore, adopted to wean the people from over-indulgence in spirits, and that was to give them increased facilities for over-indulgence in beer. In 1830 what became known as the " Duke of Wellington's Act " was passed, entitling any householder paying rates to sell beer, on or off the premises, on the simple purchase of an excise licence. The measure, it was hoped, would also do much to remove the abuse of " tied-houses," i.e., drinking-premises owned by breweries and distilleries, and under their control. It did not even succeed in that modest aim, whilst in the other it was ludicrously unsuccessful. The Bill passed on October 10, and before the end of the year 24,000 licences were taken out. Sydney Smith, writing on October 24, thus describes its early results, no doubt with some humorous exaggeration :

" The new Beer Bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state."

More alarming portent, under this free trade in beer, the consumption of spirits steadily rose. Amendments were passed in 1834¹ and 1840, but the Act as a whole gave a fresh impetus to drink-habits and caused an excessive multiplication of beer-houses. The measure was repealed only in 1869, when the retailing of beer was put once more under the control of the justices.

14. "*Grocers' Licences.*"

With such an example within their experience it is strange that statesmen should still continue to think that, by opening the door in one direction, they could automatically close it in others. Yet so it was. The great excess of public-houses created by the Wellington Act was a grave menace to public order, and in 1860 Mr. Gladstone sought to avert it by his "Wine and Refreshment Houses" Act, whereby any shopkeeper on taking out an excise licence could sell wine free of duty for consumption off the premises. Thus the drinking public, it was hoped, would give up the drinking of beer in riotous public-houses and take to drinking light wines in the quiet bosoms of their families. As before, the experiment was unsuccessful, and like the beer licences, the grocers' had to be brought under the jurisdiction of the justices again in 1869.

15. *Sunday Closing.*

Still the legislature was kept busy with the problems created by the Drink Question. It would be tedious to enter into details of the various measures, all hereafter in the direction of increased stringency, passed with a view to controlling what, uncontrolled, was seen so to threaten social welfare. The different Sunday-Closing Acts are samples of these. The "Forbes-Mackenzie" Act of 1853 closed the public-houses of Scotland on Sundays (except to travellers and lodgers) altogether, and restricted the weekday hours to

¹ In 1834, long before the evils of strong drink had been scientifically studied and when alcohol was still considered a healthy food, it is curious to note, a select Parliamentary Committee on the Drink Question made recommendations for the suppression of intemperance so drastic that many of them are still unattempted.

the interval between 8 a.m.¹ and 11 p.m. This Act was extended to Ireland (except the five chief towns) in 1878 and to Wales in 1881. The Sunday hours of English public-houses were reduced to seven in 1872-4, and a determined effort is being at present made to restrict the number further.

16. *Children's Acts and Reduction of Licences.*

Equally prompted by a desire to confine the contaminating influences of the public-house, as it now is, within as narrow limits as possible, is the series of Acts which aim at keeping children of tender years out of its reach. And a similar spirit is at work in the tendency to reduce the number of public-houses in proportion to the population served. It has been calculated that the number of persons per public-house ("on-licences") in England and Wales was 50 in 1731, 168 in 1831, 204 in 1871, 312 in 1901, 399 in 1912. The decrease is even more noticeable in Scotland, where in 1829 there were 17,713 on-licences, whereas in 1912, with double the population, there were only 6,671. Even in Ireland where the licensing bench is scandalously lax, there is a progressive decrease, but as the population also is decreasing the net result is practically stationary. With a smaller population than Scotland by some 400,000, Ireland in 1911 had 10,000 more public-houses! In 1831, when the population was over three millions more than at present, there was one public-house for every 395 persons: now there is one per 249.

17. *Statutory Recognition of the Principle of Private Profit in the Drink Traffic.*

By the Act of 1904, when the discretion of the justices was much restricted and when the principle of compensation for renewals, refused on grounds of superfluity, was admitted, a distinct change of fundamental idea was introduced into the licensing system. The theory heretofore was that the sale of intoxicants should not be licensed except for the public good: now the motive of private profit was legally recog-

¹ The recent (1913) Scotch Temperance Act has raised the morning limit to 10 a.m.

nized. As a result, the Trade could afford to allow greater progress to be made in the reduction of licences, the more so this procedure has been accompanied by a notable increase in the number of "clubs." Accordingly the net result cannot as yet be readily determined. The higher duties of the Finance Act of 1910 lessened the legal consumption of spirits, but did not do much to diminish the total spent on drink. No one can safely assert that the State has yet ceased from its endeavour to get proper control of the Drink Traffic. As an indication of the trend of modern temperance legislation the Bill of 1908, establishing "Local Option" in England and Wales, which was thrown out by the Lords, and the Act of 1913 giving "Local Option" to Scotland [to come into force in 1920], may here be cited.

18. *State Education on the Drink Question.*

One department of State action in this matter calls for special mention as likely to have considerable effect in the future—that is, the teaching of the benefits of temperance in the State schools. A syllabus was put into force in Ireland in 1904, in England and Wales in 1909, and in Scotland in 1910: if clearly and soberly expounded by earnest teachers, the young generation will be in less danger of acquiring habits of drink unconsciously and unnecessarily.

19. *Lessons of this Sketch of Government Action.*

The object of thus briefly summarizing the history of State efforts to prevent the Drink Traffic from being abused to the detriment of social welfare has merely been to indicate the teaching of experience that, in this particular traffic and the practices it maintains, there exists a danger that calls for State intervention. What we have written about the British Isles is paralleled in the British Colonies and in all the great nations of our day. In each, as before stated, the legislature is busy with devices to counteract actual or threatened disaster connected with the consumption of alcoholic liquors, showing that the same coefficients—a pleasurable practice attended with ulterior ill effects, and a large number of thoughtless or morally weak or dehumanized persons—are

everywhere at work. It will be clear also from the record how comparatively ineffective is external legislation which is not backed up by the approval of the great majority of those affected. It remains to trace the gradual origin and growth of this public opinion, which has been the inspiration of legislative actions hitherto, and on which, more than on external enactments, the cause of temperance must rely.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION : VOLUNTARY EFFORTS

1. *Whence Law derives its Efficiency.*

THE efficiency of a law depends upon the willingness of the community as a whole to obey it. This willingness may be induced either by the benefits of the law being appreciated and welcomed on their own merits, or by the realization that resistance will be inevitably punished, or by both motives, in a proportion varying with the moral development of the individual. It follows that if the whole community rejects a particular law, there is no means of enforcing it : it becomes a dead letter. And the difficulty of enforcing a particular law will obviously vary with the number and influence of those who resist it. This has a direct bearing on the Drink Question. Laws regulating the consumption of alcoholic liquor are necessarily of a restrictive character, and if they are to win acceptance, they must either recommend themselves by their reasonableness or be backed by an adequate force. We have already referred to the moral influence of the Church in keeping drunkenness in check. Her denunciation of it as *per se* a grave sin, her penitential discipline in regard to it, her general teaching on fraud, scandal, co-operation in guilt, neglect of relative duties, and the sanctions of the life to come, served to counteract the influence of convivial habits and to keep alive the sense of the spiritual dangers that lurk in strong drink.

2. *Result of Withdrawal of Church Influence.*

Practically speaking, all that influence was suppressed at the time of the religious upheaval in the sixteenth cen-

tury. Not that there lacked moralists to emphasize the plain Scripture teaching. Acts of Parliament themselves condemned drunkenness as "a loathsome and odious vice." Milton, in his *Tetrachordon* (1644), exclaims, "What more foul common sin among us than drunkenness?" In 1658 was published a tractate entitled—*The Blemish of the Government, Shame of Religion, Disgrace of Mankind, or a Charge drawn up against Drunkards, and presented to His Highness the Lord Protector in the name of the Sober Partie in the Three Nations*. Other similar pamphlets, such as *England's Bane or the Daily Danger of Drinking* (1673), showed that the moral sense of the nation was still alive, but, lacking the support of effective religious institutions, it could do but little. Public opinion was in want both of instruction and of an authoritative means of expression. And so it remained for over two centuries during which Catholicism was practically extinct in Great Britain, and what little religious zeal existed found a home in the various Nonconformist sects, themselves the objects of religious persecution. There was no religious body to preach temperance as a principle of ascetics. And medical science had not yet discovered the real character of alcohol: fermented liquors were generally regarded as ministering to health, and the chemical title *aqua vitæ* long disguised the true nature of spirits.

3. *Early Medical Teaching about Alcohol.*

But the excesses of the eighteenth century stirred the doctors to a sense of their functions as guides to health.¹ In 1725 the Royal College of Physicians presented a Remonstrance against the common sale of spirits. The London doctors in 1750 stated that they had met in their experience no less than 14,000 cases of practically irremediable illness directly due to gin drinking. Out of this abundance of observation some tardy fruits began to appear towards the

¹ Medicine is largely an empirical science, and one, therefore, in which tradition has great influence. When we reflect on the long prevalence of phlebotomy, now universally discredited as a remedy, we are not so surprised at other cases of professional ignorance.

end of the century. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Trotter, of Edinburgh, both published papers, in 1785 and 1788 respectively, on the dangers of spirit drinking. But the first organized voluntary effort to save the Commonwealth from this danger took its rise in the United States in the formation at Boston in 1826 of the "American Temperance Society."¹

4. *Beginning of Temperance Societies.*

In that country, owing to the revolutionary war and the false notions abroad concerning strong drink, drunkenness during the late eighteenth century was even more widespread than in the British Isles. The Boston example, which had a wonderful effect in the States, was speedily followed in Ireland. Dr. John Edgar, a Presbyterian, and the Rev. G. Kerr, a Quaker, founded Temperance Societies at Belfast and New Ross respectively in 1829. The same year saw established by John Dunlop the "Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Society,"² and in 1830 an English organization was founded by Henry Forbes at Bradford, and others in London and Bristol. It may be noted that all these bodies, having set out to combat spirit drinking, allowed their members the use of fermented liquors. It took some time before the illogicality of attacking alcohol in one form and embracing it in another got home to the mind of the day.

5. *Rise of Total Abstinence.*

Total abstainers first appeared at Preston in 1832 under the advocacy of Joseph Livesey. There, too, the word "teetotal," a reduplicative and intensive form of total, originated. The progress of the movement was hampered, not only by the foolish legislation of the period, but by the

¹ Other smaller organizations of limited scope and transient effect had preceded it in that country. A Total Abstinence Society, founded in 1817 at Skibbereen, still existing in Father Mathew's time, was in essence a Benefit Society.

² This Society supported a paper which in 1829 contained the first estimate of the National Drink Bill, £40,619,082, the average of 1824-5-6.

strife between the anti-spirit party and the teetotalers. The heroic attitude of total abstinence was felt by the original reformers to be likely to repel public opinion, and a schism occurred in the British and Foreign Temperance Society which resulted in the formation in 1836 of the New B. & F.T.S. on the basis of total abstinence and the gradual disappearance (culminating in 1850) of its rival. For in England as well as in America it was seen that no effective stand could be made against the ravages of drink on any other ground than entire abstinence. It was found that any decrease effected in the consumption of spirits by the movement was followed by a proportionate increase in the consumption of beer. Breweries increased as distilleries closed, whilst much spirit was doctored and sold as wine. Another cause of dissension amongst these non-Catholic societies was the prevalent idea that alcohol was something intrinsically evil, a common misapprehension which is by no means extinct yet. It led to interminable disputes, and a vast literature grew up on the question whether the wine mentioned in the Bible was fermented or not.¹ It caused the paralysing dilemma—if we license the Drink Traffic we are co-operating in an immoral thing: if we don't license it we set it free from control! This Manichæan heresy and the general connection of non-Catholic temperance propaganda with other forms of Puritan intolerance have gravely prejudiced the whole movement with the public, general and Catholic, as well as wasted the energies of many earnest reformers. Yet the movement in every country shows a steady advance. The Parliamentary Committee of 1834 estimated the membership of Temperance Societies in England at 101,448, but when the total abstinence line was adopted the cause made more rapid progress. A particular aspect which merits special mention was the enrolment of the young of both sexes in "Bands of Hope," which,

¹ In 1876 a "Sacramental Wine" Association was formed in Scotland with the object of introducing unfermented wine in the Communion Service. In 1877 Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, forbade the use of such wine, but legal opinion declared against him. We have heard of fanatics celebrating the Communion with tea!

inaugurated in 1847, now have a membership of over two million.

6. *Catholic Total Abstinence Propaganda.*

Not until nine years after Emancipation, towards the end of 1838, was the first Catholic Total Abstinence Society formed in England. A certain Rev. T. Sisk, a priest of Chelsea, was its founder, and he no doubt was inspired by the phenomenal success of Fr. Theobald Mathew, the famous Capuchin friar, in his Irish temperance campaign, which began in that year. The history and the lessons of that movement stand for all time both as a stimulus and a warning to temperance reformers. Ireland, with a population of about eight millions (more than half the then population of England and Wales, and more than three times the population of Scotland), consumed as a yearly average in 1835-9, 11,595,536 gallons of spirits. Fr. Mathew began his propaganda in 1838, but it did not spread far till 1839; in 1840 the consumption of spirits was 7,401,051 gallons; in 1841, 6,485,443 gallons; in 1842, 5,290,650 gallons. At the close of 1844 it was computed that there were over three million abstainers in Ireland. The apostle visited Scotland in 1842 and England in 1843, enrolling hosts of his co-religionists in his crusade and starting many parochial Temperance Societies.

7. *Arrest of the Movement.*

But political agitation, which grew intense in the later forties, a lowered duty on spirits after 1842, and the shadow and substance of the Great Famine which was already threatening in 1845, began to undermine the stability of what was, as all such sudden and universal movements must be, largely permeated by emotion and enthusiasm. Fr. Mathew has no one to organize and consolidate the victory he had won. He was not adequately supported by the natural leaders of the community, the upper and middle classes: even the clergy themselves to some extent held aloof. In 1845 the expenditure on spirits rose by more than two millions, and when Fr. Mathew started his two years' crusade

in America in 1849, during which he admitted half a million to the pledge, the seeds of failure in his home enterprise were already fully developed. Still, his inspiration remains and is operative to-day, as we shall presently see.

8. *Change in the general Character of Temperance Propaganda.*

The mid-century was an epoch of revolution abroad and political unrest at home. When a calmer period ensued there was a noticeable change in the spirit of the Temperance Movement. There was much less appeal to the emotions and the religious interests of the individual; temperance began to be advocated on scientific grounds as essential to bodily and social well-being. In 1851 the famous Prohibition Law of Maine, U.S.A., was passed, marking the aim of the extreme temperance reformers. In 1853 the "United Kingdom Alliance," the object of which is "the total and immediate legislative suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as beverages," was founded in Manchester. This indicates an extension of temperance methods from a direct appeal to the individual, with the aim of ultimately creating a favourable public opinion in regard to reform, to concerted action with the object of influencing the legislative. What was, in fact, discovered, or unconsciously felt, was that emotion, not supported by sound religious principles nor maintained by grace-conferring religious practices, could not be relied on as a permanent source of growth in the movement. The appeal outside the Church, therefore, became less emotional, more rational and constructive and, in a sense, more material. Women and children were formally enrolled, international co-operation was sought;¹ above all, the whole question of inebriety and other alcoholic effects was profoundly and scientifically studied. Thus powerfully organized and ably equipped, the temperance party in every land, particularly in the United States, has been able to bring strong influence to bear on legislation, and by its immense output of literature and other means of propaganda to modify public opinion as regards the nature of alcohol.

¹ The *fourteenth* International Congress against Alcoholism was held at Milan in 1913.

There is no longer any great likelihood of hearing beer praised in the House of Commons, as it was when the Wellington Bill was discussed, as "good malt and hops, that could injure nobody." The medical profession, as we have seen, has made up for past neglect by incessant attention to the alcohol problem, with the result that its character as an essentially narcotic drug is now practically established.

9. *Effect of this Change.*

All this is to the good from the temperance point of view. To deprecate indulgence as injurious to bodily health, to mental and moral vigour, to the pocket, to social welfare, to national prosperity, is to appeal to motives which all can appreciate. Yet it may be doubted whether such prudential considerations alone will ever effect so much as the appeal to the ascetic principles inculcated in the Gospel of Christ. Happily, the religious motive is still kept in the forefront in many religious bodies, but particularly in the various Catholic temperance organizations which, especially in Ireland and America, well maintain their vigour.

10. *Modern Catholic Associations.*

In the former country Father Mathew's work was revived by Bishop Delany, of Cork, in 1869, whilst the Irish Hierarchy in 1875 issued their famous Joint Pastoral on Drink, which effectively aroused public attention to its perils. In more recent times, several highly practical organizations have been set on foot in that island, of which the earliest and one of the most flourishing is the "Pioneer Total Abstinence League," inaugurated in 1898 by Fr. James Cullen, S.J., and numbering now (1913) about 200,000 members, who have all passed a two years' probation, and a proportionately great number of "aspirants." The Pioneers, it is gratifying to record, number many adherents among the clergy and ecclesiastical students. In 1905 the Irish Hierarchy called upon the Capuchin Fathers, the religious brethren of Fr. Mathew, to take up anew his work, which they have done with no little of his success in the "Father

Mathew Total Abstinence Association." Still later, the Bishops of the Western Province founded "St. Patrick's League of the West," a carefully-designed organization covering the whole of that district with a network of parochial associations. At the moment of writing (June, 1914) a great National Temperance Convention is on the eve of being held in Dublin, wherein no doubt all Irish temperance work will be consolidated, and the workers further inspired to make Ireland sober as well as free.

Catholic temperance work in the vast community of the United States takes a prominence commensurate with the Church's growth and success there. Unity and co-ordination was secured in 1872 by the Baltimore Convention, out of which grew "The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America," with which the various local associations have gradually become affiliated. It is noteworthy that this great organization, whilst admitting Prohibitionists into its ranks, refuses to countenance officially this method of promoting temperance. Of this attitude a few words will be said in another chapter. The C. T. A. U. admits women and children to its ranks and has a large section composed of the clergy.

The Catholic Temperance Movement in England in modern times is closely associated with the names of Cardinal Manning in London and Mgr. James Nugent in Liverpool, who combined to found a total abstinence organization called "The League of the Cross" in 1873. During the lives of its founders, this organization flourished exceedingly and wrought an immense amount of good wherever it was established. Much of its initial enthusiasm, which was accompanied with a certain amount of external parade, has now, as might have been expected, disappeared, but the movement is solidly organized at headquarters and is so constituted as to be capable of indefinite parochial extension. What has hitherto been needed in this country is co-ordination of all the various local bodies, and a few years ago that want was recognized and sought to be supplied by the establishment of a "Federation of Catholic Temperance Societies." The General Council of this body is at work on the registration of the whole Catholic temperance forces

of the country, and at elaborating a scheme for a National Juvenile organization to be established in every parish. At the moment, another important departure is being debated, viz. whether the "League of the Cross" as a Catholic body should *officially* co-operate with other non-Catholic organizations with the same end. Several of Cardinal Manning's lieutenants still remain working vigorously for their ideal, and many new recruits amongst clergy and laity have joined in this good work. The "Father Mathew Union" is an organization confined to priests and clerical students which took its rise in 1908. Another body in the North is the Salford Diocesan Crusade, which includes "strictly moderate" drinkers as well as total abstainers, and was established by Bishop Vaughan in 1875. In 1910, his present successor, Bishop Casartelli, gave it a new impetus. Mention, too, should be made of the Catholic Temperance Crusade, a wide-spread organization founded in 1896 by Fr. F. C. Hays, a nephew of Mgr. Nugent, who has worked and travelled indefatigably to promote it; and of the smaller independent parochial bodies which are numerous throughout the land.

II. *What is most vital in the Catholic Appeal.*

In all these bodies the appeal is mainly religious, the teaching and example of Christ are made the chief motive, a motive which influences the good and morally strong, as well as the moral weakling. Self-sacrifice for the sake of the brethren is inculcated, and the Sacraments are frequented as furnishing a constant supply of moral strength and enthusiasm. The Church knows very well that, whether to reclaim a drunkard or to fortify a character against temptation to drink, an all-round good life is necessary. Temperance is only one of the virtues, and it would be impossible to cultivate it properly whilst neglecting any of the others. Consequently the spiritual side is put prominently forward in all Catholic organizations. Many exact regular and frequent participation of the Sacraments; all are associated with the promotion of some religious end.

12. *Summary and Scope of Voluntary Effort.*

Such is a brief summary of the progress of voluntary effort, here and in America, amongst Catholics and others, in the cause of temperance. It is designed to supplement that of the State by instructing the public mind and modifying the public manners, and also to urge upon the Government measures which experience has shown to be desirable in the struggle against excess in drink. Its influence has been very great and is likely to grow greater, but being largely confined to Church bodies, it does not directly reach the great multitudes who have drifted away from religion. On the other hand, so much organized effort has naturally put the liquor trade on its defence. The *Alliance Year-Book* for 1914, enumerating the "Temperance Organizations of the United Kingdom" (and as regards Ireland, at least, its summary is by no means exhaustive), reckons eighteen which are Legislative and General, fifteen which are Sectional (Army, Navy, Medical, etc.), twenty-five identified with different religious bodies, fourteen which are Orders or sects in themselves (Rechabites, Good Templars, etc.), ten confined to women, eight juvenile societies, sixty-seven country and 174 town societies (the latter two including only England and Wales), in all, 328. Arrayed against this army and fighting with similar weapons—books, newspapers, tracts, memorials, political agitation, etc.—stand the embattled forces of "The Trade," enumerated by the *Alliance Annual* as including ten main associations and 700 local societies throughout the Kingdom. The atmosphere thus engendered is not favourable for calm discussion. It is all the more important that a clear statement of the ethical questions involved should be made, for no Catholic would desire to advocate temperance on grounds that were not morally sound. It would be a strange and unchristian thing to seek to advance the virtue of temperance whilst offending against those of prudence and justice.

CHAPTER IV

THE ETHICS OF THE QUESTION

1. *The Attitude of the Catholic Church.*

It has already been remarked that it behoves the temperance advocate of all men to be temperate in his advocacy, for he is aiming at interfering to some extent with personal liberty and at restraining pleasurable indulgence. Accordingly unless his arguments are thoroughly sound, his facts certain, his inferences logical, and unless necessity and expediency, precept and counsel are kept perfectly distinct in his recommendations, the flaws in his reasoning will reflect discredit on his cause itself, and give men a ready excuse for turning deaf ears to his pleading. To try to impose a yoke for which there is no warrant, naturally disposes the victim to discard the yoke which should be borne. Hence the great advantage which the Catholic reformer has in the fact that the moral principles which he invokes are drawn from the tried and traditional teaching of the Church and are both definite and well established. Hence too the caution which the Church exercises in regard to the individual co-operation of her children with temperance work, based on principles which she cannot admit or excluding those which are most fundamental and important. She has expressly prohibited Catholics joining the "Sons of Temperance" in the United States and the "Good Templars," "Rechabites" and similar societies in the British Isles,¹ because she cannot wholly approve of the motives of these zealous reformers nor has she any guarantee of the soundness of their methods. And even when the Temperance cause is dissociated from any specifically reli-

¹ Bridgett, *op. cit.*, 202.

gious propaganda, this does not make it altogether unobjectionable from the Catholic point of view. For in such a case the merely natural virtue of temperance is thrust up into an unnatural prominence and its cultivation tends to be made a religion, either of itself or in combination with those other bugbears of ultra-Puritanism, betting, smoking, card-playing and theatre-going. Accordingly it may be useful to state formally in this chapter the main lines of Catholic teaching on temperance.

2. *Doctrine about Alcohol.*

Naturally we take first the subject of alcohol itself. What does the Church teach about that? The Church lends no countenance to the idea that alcohol is anything evil *in se*. Nothing that God has created is or can be evil *in se*, however much it may be abused. Of all that He made it is written, "He saw that it was good." The Manichæans asserted a dual origin of material things—a good and an evil principle—and their heresy is revived by those temperance bodies who hold, as some apparently do, that alcohol is intrinsically an evil thing, or so inevitably bound up with evil that they cannot practically be dissociated. If that were the case it would be easier, no doubt, to urge its abandonment; one's plea could then be based strongly upon conscience and the moral law; but the Christian's is the harder task of discriminating between use and abuse, of enforcing law without unduly infringing liberty. So Catholic advocacy of temperance is never disfigured by this false plea. Alcohol has its lawful place in the scheme of things and its claims however limited must be recognized. "Drink," says Fr. Bridgett, "is the work of God, drunkenness is the work of man."¹

3. *Heresies on the Subject.*

Heresy on the matter of strong drink made its appearance very early in the history of Christianity, being one phase of that strange medley of errors concerning the body and its functions taught by the early Gnostics. Tatian (*d.* 174)

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

founded a sect called the Aquarians who would not use wine even in the celebration of the Eucharist. St. Clement of Alexandria had expressly to prove that this view was contrary to the teaching and practice of our Lord and the Apostles, as recorded in the New Testament. The heretic as we know, from Judaizer to Jansenist, has ever been prone to concentrate his attention on external observance, whilst allowing his spirit all the more freedom from control. St. Augustine had to wage war on the Manichæans and, when in the twelfth century, the Albigenes revived that old misbelief, they found a vigorous opponent in St. Bernard. "They are heretics," he said, "not because they abstain but because they abstain heretically."¹ And finally, not to multiply authorities in a matter which is beyond dispute, Cardinal Manning in an address delivered in 1872 emphasized the common teaching as follows :—

"I repeat distinctly that any man who should say that the use of wine or any other like thing is sinful when it does not lead to drunkenness, that man is a heretic condemned by the Catholic Church. With that man I will never work."

It is a singular thing that, whereas the false prophet Mahomet elevated abstinence from strong drink into a necessary condition for salvation, none of the many varieties of ascetic rule in the Catholic Church has recommended it explicitly even as a counsel.

4. *The Catholic Teaching on Drunkenness.*

But whilst guarding with extreme care against Manichæism, which in effect denies the existence of God, the Church has been equally alive to the necessity of condemning all abuse of intoxicants. She teaches that complete drunkenness is as such a mortal sin, one of the deadly seven. The reason is this: God has endowed man with intellect to be the guide of his conduct; it is unlawful, therefore, for him to withdraw from that guidance by such over-indulgence in drink as results in the temporary loss of reason and reduces him to the level of the beasts or below it. He

¹ Serm. 66 in Cant.

is evading his responsibilities as a servant of his Creator. Temporary deprivation of consciousness, of course, is not at all the same thing. By the natural process of sleep we become actually unconscious, but we can be recalled to the use of reason in a moment : the faculty remains potentially operative. Besides which, sleep normally puts an end to all our other activities as well ; we are no longer capable of acting even irrationally. And the same thing may be said of the anæsthetics used in medical science, the primary effect of which, besides, is to suspend sensation and thus avert shock, but which have also the concomitant effect of suspending consciousness. On the other hand since there are many stages in formal drunkenness before the sleep of stupor is reached, the drunkard, whilst lost to the control of reason, is still able to carry out the promptings of his lower appetites. If, therefore, a person consciously and willingly drinks to excess, so that he is no longer capable of distinguishing between good and evil, he sins grievously, even though his incapacity does not lead him into further wrong-doing. Moreover, he is accountable for any evil he may foresee that he will do in that state. Even the civil law holds him responsible for his conduct, nay even more so ; unless indeed he can prove he became drunk accidentally. " As for a drunkard, who is a *voluntarius dæmon*, he hath no privilege thereby : but what hurt or ill soever he doeth, his drunkenness doth aggravate it."¹

5. *The moral Measure of Excess in Drink.*

According to the degree of deprivation of reason is the gravity of alcoholic excess measured. But there are also a number of other offences almost inseparably connected with this excess which serve to determine and increase its guilt. As reason is the instrument by which we recognize the presence of temptation and our obligation to shun it, any interference with the working of this instrument puts us in some danger of sin. Again, although anything short of complete drunkenness as defined cannot in itself be grievously sinful, still excess is always sinful to some extent

¹ "Coke on Lyttleton," 247a.

and it may be gravely wrong in its consequences. These accidental effects of whole or partial intoxication arise from our life in community, i.e., from a man's position amongst his fellows which cannot but entail a number of duties of justice and charity in their regard. Justice, for instance, demands that he should not defraud, by his devotion to drink, those dependent on him, or those that employ him, of their due. Moreover, a man's circumstances may be such—his income so small, his health so precarious, his time so much occupied, his official character so dignified—that what would be moderate expenditure of time and money and physical well-being in another, would be excessive in him. Therefore it does not always require technical inebriation to constitute a serious fault.

6. *Further Determination of Excess.*

To exceed in drink is, therefore, to take more than is good for one. What is good for one is settled by reference to many considerations. For instance, drink is not good for one *morally* if it commonly leads one into sin, whether of itself by the want of control it induces or accidentally by causing one to associate with bad characters, or even to waste time, to give scandal or to omit religious duties. Nor is it *morally* or *financially* good for one, if it leads to spending, even in small quantities, what is not one's own but due in some way to tradesfolk or dependents. Nor is it *physically* good for one, if it causes a notable and permanent diminution of health. Even, therefore, if a man remains well within the medical definition of excess, and consumes no more than an ounce of alcohol in the day, he may easily exceed in a variety of other ways, and sin through indulgence in drink. He may sin, too, however little he drinks himself, by spending what he should not spend in treating others and perhaps doing harm to them, or by challenging or encouraging others to drink to their own detriment in one or other of the above ways, or by disedifying the young and causing scandal generally on account of his age or position. And all this applies with at least equal force to women, in whom

intemperance of any sort is especially loathsome because of the greater refinement and spirituality of their sex.

Now, considering the individual apart from his family and social relations it may be useful to inquire to what extent he is bound to regard his own bodily health in this matter. If his quickness of brain or skill of hand, on the strength of which assets he gains his salary, is impaired by even moderate drinking, then obviously he is doing injustice to those who employ him. But, apart from external obligations, is the injury to health, asserted with such weight of medical evidence to follow moderate indulgence in strong drink, a sin against that proper self-regard which our Maker expects ^{us} to have concerning the bodies He has lent to us?

7. The Claims of Well-being.

Bodily health, being a good in the natural order, is consequently not the chief good of life. Taking for granted that, whatever be the benefits of strong drink in certain diseases no healthy person really suffers in health on account of abstinence, we infer that, for such persons it is in no sense a necessity or even a convenience, but rather partakes of the character of a luxury. Moreover, in the case of very many, it is a luxury which does actual physical harm, greater or less and more or less permanent, according to the strength of the constitution affected. The ethical point is—is a person justified in seeking the pleasure physical and psychical which strong drink affords even though it injures, at least to some slight extent, his bodily health? As this question enters very fundamentally into the whole drink problem, it will be necessary to consider it pretty thoroughly. In what circumstances and to what extent is a person justified for the sake of some other honest end, in impairing his physical well-being?

8. Cases wherein Health may be disregarded.

It is plain that the interests of the soul come before those of the body. If therefore a course of action which benefits the soul, rendering the will stronger against temptation

and more amenable to God's law, is found also to damage in some degree the body, that disadvantage may be disregarded in view of the higher good. This is a common-sense principle which comes to us recommended by the teaching of the Gospel and by the uniform practice of the Saints, some of whom for their better spiritual development maltreated their bodies in extraordinary ways, and all of whom to some extent employed what goes by the significant name of corporal mortification. This Christian asceticism has a good object—the bringing of the body into subjection to the spirit or the desire to imitate and share the atoning sufferings of Christ—and must on no account be confounded with the practice of some early heretics who mutilated themselves so as to get rid of fleshly temptations, or of those devotees of false religions who undergo hideous self-tortures by way of propitiating an evil deity who is supposed to delight in the spectacle of human suffering. There is nothing morbid about true asceticism : it is always regulated by prudence, always supposes a careful consideration of one's obligations and is never an end in itself.

Its lawfulness will be the more apparent if we consider how readily, in pursuit of merely temporal ends, men expose their bodily health to injury. We may safely say that heaping up treasures on earth has done much more to impair human vitality than heaping up treasures in heaven. What reckless expenditure of health and even life has marked the extension of trade and the pursuit of gold throughout the world. And not only the pursuit of wealth, but even the search for a livelihood induces men to undertake tasks which cannot but injure their health. There are dangerous trades like mining and unhealthy trades like file-making, to engage in which many are persuaded by the pressure of necessity or the high rate of wages. Men have always thought that it is better to live with less strength and vigour than not to live at all. Bodily well-being, in fact, though a great good, is freely and lawfully neglected in view of goods which are considered to be higher. There are many other such goods besides those we have mentioned. Consider how health is sacrificed to advance the cause of

science and extend the sphere of knowledge, either by exploring the unhealthy regions of the tropics or the poles, or by investigating the cause of disease. Experimenting with the X-rays, for instance, cost a brave doctor his arm. We may class, too, amongst the victims of science those many pioneers in the art of aviation who have perished in testing various new mechanical devices and conditions. And of course the performance of their duty often demands disregard of health, and sometimes even of life, in the case of public servants—priests, soldiers and sailors, police, firemen, nurses too, and doctors. Still more to the point—in pursuit of many forms of bodily enjoyment—hunting, climbing, wild-game shooting, football, sport in general—all sorts of damage to health are occasioned or risked, yet so long as devotion to these pursuits does not cause us to neglect our duties, whether to God or man, who will say that the preference of such pleasure to health is in itself sinful? It may often be folly, a sacrifice of the future to the present : but then, not all folly is sin, though all sin is folly.

9. Can Drinking be included in these Cases ?

So we cannot condemn any object of desire on the sole grounds that the pursuit of it injures health. It may of course, be urged that the objects mentioned above—spiritual progress, material benefit, growth of knowledge, the public service, sport even—are all worthy objects, for the gaining of which it is not unfitting to pay the price of a certain loss of health, whereas mere pleasure of the palate such as is caused by drink, does not in itself justify the sacrifice.¹ Nevertheless, this plea cannot be admitted without strict qualification. Pleasure is attached to the use of all our senses, and although their primary object is to place the soul in communication with the external world, still

¹ St. Augustine seems to hold that it is always sinful to gratify the senses of taste and touch unless with reference to the end for which pleasure was attached to their employment. But most modern moralists agree with St. Thomas that such gratifications is lawful in itself, provided it is regulated by temperance.

they may also be used with moderation for the sake of the pleasure of exercise. We may blamelessly delight our eyes with beautiful scenery or pictures, our ears with fine singing, our sense of smell with the perfumes of the flowers—why not our taste with strong drink? The truth is that where goods are of the same order and there is thus some sort of proportion between them, where, moreover, no other considerations limit his choice, man is free to choose, free therefore to prefer the less good to the greater, the more immediate to the more remote. No doubt the range of choice is more limited in matters which concern the bodily appetites and the senses of touch and taste, ministering as they do to our lower nature and thus calling for greater restraint, but even there we must allow a certain degree of freedom. Consider the alternative. If we were morally bound to make health our first consideration in all matters of dietary—we should be ensnared in a legalism more stern than that of Leviticus, and every conscientious person would feel bound to acquire an unwholesome knowledge of alimentary processes! In this respect eating and drinking are on a level. Even though an individual may know that certain nice foods and drinks are not for him altogether healthy, he is not obliged under sin to abstain from them. He may lawfully choose the pleasure which comes from an actual moderate use of them, in spite of the future resultant physical discomfort. No one is bound under pain of moral fault to choose the most perfect of all courses open to him. In fact, it is precisely because eating and drinking cause physical pleasure, a pleasure which may be lawfully accepted if taken in moderation, that there is in regard to it, at one and the same time, necessity for the virtue of temperance, and scope for the virtue of abstinence.

10. *The Claims of Health not to be exaggerated.*

Consequently, we cannot rest our opposition to excessive drinking mainly on the grounds that alcohol is a poison and injurious to health. Even though the whole medical faculty were united in that opinion, man would not be morally bound to avoid strong drink. He is free to reckon

the pleasure to the palate, the glow of the body, the exhilaration to the sentiments, the breaking down of reserve, the temporary stimulus to thought, the oblivion of care and trouble, which he has found to be its immediate effects, to be worth the diminution of health that is its consequence, supposing those ill results are slight or not permanent. We cannot say that strong drink in moderation is so manifestly injurious that a man fails in due self-regard by its use. The effects above mentioned are not wrong in themselves and therefore they may be sought by means which are not wrong. Great harm has been done to the cause of temperance by the attempt to make all alcoholic drinking necessarily sinful and by exaggerating the obligation to avoid what is unhealthy. The attempt is foolish, for it goes against common sense and common practice, sanctioned by many of the holiest of mankind. Total abstinence is not a *sine qua non* of perfection, nor necessarily a means to it.

We have laboured this point somewhat, because the terrible nature of the evils caused by drink, and the zeal and earnestness with which the sight of those evils inspires them, are prone to make reformers turn to compulsion rather than to persuasion, and condemn those who do not wholly side with them. There is nothing in Catholicity that countenances this intransigent attitude. Appetite, in connexion with eating and drinking, is designed to make us attend to the duty of promoting our physical development. Between eating and drinking to live, which is our bounden duty, and living to eat and drink, which is an abuse of a natural instinct, there is a fairly wide field which may be occupied without reproach. The enlightened temperance reformer has in present circumstances many reasons for abstinence to urge upon the "moderate" drinker, but he will never condemn him for using his liberty, unless there are other extrinsic considerations in the case, which make that use unlawful.

II. *Extrinsic Reasons for Abstinence.*

These considerations we have already touched upon.

They concern our relations to God and to our neighbour. As the property of strong drink, even in small quantities, is to weaken the control of reason over appetite, it may be necessary for some men to abstain altogether if they are to avoid the occasions of sin. In other words, the epithet "moderate," employed in connexion with indulgence in alcoholic drink, is strictly relative. As some bodily constitutions are capable of resisting or repairing its injurious effects with comparative ease, so some characters are so strongly grounded in good, have such confirmed habits of well-doing, that even in "moments of expansion" they oppose, as it were instinctively, the suggestions of evil. "Moderation" in regard to such characters, so far as the claims of conscience are concerned, obviously need not be pitched so low as in the case of those who are largely governed by impulse and prone to follow the line of least resistance. It is a matter of personal experience and for personal regulation. One's finances, one's family, one's physique, the peculiar character of one's work, the obligation of setting a good example—all these, as we have seen, are circumstances which operate to modify the extension of "moderation," and to enforce the necessity of making a careful determination as to what it means in one's own case. The technical definition of excess is the imbibing a greater quantity than the body can dispose of in twenty-four hours, viz., about one ounce of pure alcohol.¹ Those who have ever given even a slight attention to the subject must be convinced that, judging by this standard, there is a very widespread abuse of strong drink in the world, and that many who consider themselves "moderate" in its use would stand convicted of excess in one or more of the above particulars if tried by an impartial tribunal.

12. Other Cases of wasteful Excess.

But note that this is not the only case in which the moralist must cry out against vicious excess—would that it were so! Immense sums of money are wasted on other luxuries—such as fashion which ministers to vanity, tobacco which

¹ See *supra*, p. 12 : also Chap. V., p. 78.

ministers often to mere self-indulgence, betting and gambling which are largely influenced by avarice,—and much preventable misery is caused by culpable ignorance and improvidence in the use of money. But none of these evils has such a hold upon its victims or causes such widespread individual, family and social evils as drinking to excess. Society can recover, as it were automatically, from the harm done by others : to oppose this, it must be organized, instructed, and inspired, or it stands in danger of perishing.

13. *Total Abstinence not an Extreme.*

It will be gathered from what we have said that it is a mistake and a harmful one to regard total abstinence as one extreme and drunkenness as the other, whilst moderation occupies the golden and virtuous mean. Yet there is a speciousness about this assertion which no doubt has kept many from becoming teetotalers : no one likes to be labelled a fanatic. Yet, it is easy to show that, although temperance may be advocated fanatically, in itself it is not fanatical. The Aristotelian doctrine that virtue lies between two vicious extremes, one indicating defect, the other excess, of the quality constituting the virtue, has its roots in the fact that all virtues, except the divine virtue of charity, are means to an end, and their pursuit must therefore be regulated by reference to that end. Too much of the quality overshoots, too little falls short of, the object desired, and accordingly both are vicious as failing to attain it. Now, we might deny altogether that this doctrine is applicable to the matter in hand, since drinking strong liquor for pleasure's sake cannot surely be reckoned a virtue, but, assuming that in the physical order it is not a bad thing as satisfying a bodily appetite, the "virtue" of the practice will consist in taking just so much drink as benefits the whole organism, whilst the vicious extremes are, respectively, taking too much or too little for that purpose. But, since it is practically certain that alcoholic drinks do not, in health at least, benefit the body at all, the "virtue" in this case surely lies in abstinence, and so even moderation, not merely drunkenness, becomes an extreme. That there

is no negative extreme in this case, in other words that we cannot fail in our duty to our bodies by taking too little alcohol, simply shows that the doctrine cannot really be applied. One might as well say that chastity is a vicious extreme over against illicit indulgence, with moderation in the shape of the holy state of matrimony occupying the mean

However, as we have said, men may lawfully sacrifice some degree of the material good of bodily health for the sake of another material good, bodily pleasure.

14. *There is Nothing necessarily wrong in the Trade in Strong Drink.*

It follows, as bearing on the morality of the subject, that the manufacture and the selling of alcoholic liquors are lawful trades. No exception can be taken to the brewer or the publican as such on moral grounds. Provided their business is conducted justly, the liquor sold is what it professes to be, the price fair, and no inducements to excess held out, they have as much right to pursue their trade as the grocer or the tobacconist or the haberdasher. They are engaged in supplying a demand, which demand is in itself legitimate. The denunciations we hear of breweries and distilleries arise from their over production and the exorbitant profits connected with them. The outcry against the public-house in the British Isles and the saloon in America is largely inspired by the malpractices often connected with the conduct of such establishments, and their unhealthy character in themselves. But there is no need of their being either ill-conducted or unhealthy.

15. *The Public-house as a Temptation.*

There remains a further matter bearing on the ethics of the drink question, viz., the morality of multiplying facilities for indulgence. It should hardly be necessary to state what psychology, common sense and experience combine to emphasize, i.e., that, *ceteris paribus*, the more frequent the temptation the greater the risk of falling, and therefore the greater facilities offered for getting drunk the more

drunkenness will result. Yet reduction of the number of public-houses has been opposed on the strange ground, supposed to be exemplified by statistics, that the fewer the public-houses the greater the amount of drunkenness ! It is certainly the fact that there are districts of England with few public-houses which greatly exceed in the number of convictions for drunkenness those where public-houses abound—hence the wild deduction that restriction breeds excess. No better instance could be found to illustrate the unwisdom of relying on statistics alone. For, apart from the uncertainty introduced into this case by diversity of police practice, it happens that those sparsely-provided districts uniformly comprise mining, industrial, and seaport towns, where indulgence in excess is naturally much more common. Consequently the fewness of public-houses there is a direct result of the vigorous efforts of the justices to keep the prevalent excess within as close limits as possible. The prevalent drunkenness, in other words, is occupational, not local. Of course no moralist denies that restriction, pushed to an extreme and *unsupported by popular opinion*, has a tendency to produce worse evils than those it aims at suppressing, and therefore prudent schemes of temperance reform must always take into account the tastes and dispositions of the people for whom they are framed.

16. *The State and its weaker Subjects : the Native Races.*

But the community is obliged to see for the sake of its weaker members that temptations to excess in drink—and, practically speaking, every public-house, as things are at present, is such a temptation—are kept within decent and reasonable limits. The State, as we have seen, has entrusted this work to the Justices of the Peace, who cannot be said to acquit themselves well of the task, although they have shown of late years more sense of responsibility.¹ Inadequate as is the protection thus afforded to the community at home, it is unfortunately very much more than has ever been given to the subject-races with whom the

¹ See Chapter VI, *The Solution of the Problem*, p. 93.

white man has come into contact. Few civilized States in extending their rule and influence over barbarous peoples have ever taken efficient measures to preserve those peoples, whose ignorance and want of training might have claimed for them the consideration given to children, from the ravages of alcoholic liquor.¹ It is characteristic of the little influence which Christian morality has over international dealings that not until the Brussels Conference of European Powers in 1889-90 did statesmen show much sense of responsibility in this regard for the natives of their various dependencies, and then only at the instigation of Christian missionaries and temperance societies. Then, and since then—many generations too late to prevent the evil becoming widespread and inveterate—laws have been passed prohibiting or restricting the sale of spirituous liquors to the different native populations. These laws are, of course, constantly being evaded by unscrupulous traders,² as had to be confessed by a Committee of Inquiry which sat (in 1909) on the Liquor Traffic of Southern Nigeria, with the result that gin has actually become in that country a substitute for currency! In North America and in Australia the native races are on the eve of extermination because “civilization,” instead of protecting them against the dangers of drink, gave full rein from the start to an unchristian commercialism. If the public consciousness had been practically Christian, and if—we must allow this much in excuse—the true nature of alcohol had been earlier recognized, the first act of every civilized government would have been to keep it as far as possible out of reach of the inferior races.³

¹ The much-maligned Congo Government, however, *did* keep out the Liverpool gin-traders.

² Aided, it must be added, by ignorant or subsidized State officials. In a Blue Book issued by the “Commercial Intelligence Department” of the Board of Trade in 1913, British distillers were urged to produce a “new cheap spirit” so as to undersell Holland and Germany in Southern Nigeria!

³ How far the iniquity of multiplying occasions of certain evil has been ignored by statesmen may be seen in the notorious Opium War of 1840, as the result of which the British Government, in the interests of the Indian Opium Traffic, forced China to continue to allow the

But morality is apt to be set aside when the chance of making money on a large scale is offered.

17. *The Question of the "Pledge."*

We have now seen what is the duty both of the individual and of the State in the matter of strong drink : a duty summed up in the words, stringent control and moderation. For the individual in normal circumstances, total abstinence is only a matter of counsel or expediency to which he is to be earnestly invited, but not compelled. This suggests a word about the value and obligation of what is commonly known as the "pledge." In its widest acceptance, the pledge is the deliberate expression of a resolution to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors. It may vary in stringency and extent, may be made, for instance, for life or for a certain definite period, may make exception of some particular beverage of low alcoholic strength, may even regard only the place of drinking, or the time. But, generally speaking, it is universal as regards drink, however it may vary in regard to duration. So much for its definition. A more complicated matter is the character of its obligation, which is thus determined by moralists. If it is a promise formally made to God, then it takes on the qualities of a vow, i.e., a deliberate engagement made with Almighty God to undertake some action or course of conduct which is good in itself, and better than its omission. The obligation of a vow, i.e., whether it is to bind under mortal or venial sin, depends partly on the intention of him who makes it and partly on its subject matter. A person can bind himself either seriously or lightly in a serious¹ matter, but only lightly in a light matter. Applying this accordingly to the promise of total abstinence, which is a sufficiently weighty undertaking, one can clearly bind oneself either under mortal or venial sin. On account of

importation of that pernicious drug, an iniquity tardily recognized in 1909, when a limit to the importation was officially fixed.

¹ Certain vows, such as those of religion and of clerical celibacy, have their grave character determined by the Church, independently of the decision of those who take them.

the reverence due to God, the breach of any deliberate promise made to Him involves at least venial sin. And, of course, if the pledge is the only means by which a person can keep himself from the sin of drunkenness, then the obligation to take it is the same as that to avoid the sin. But very often the pledge is not made to God, but taken privately or before a priest, who is said to "administer" it. What then? In the first case, a private resolution cannot create any new obligation, nor add to the guilt of violating the law of temperance, whereas in the second, as the purpose is communicated to an official person, then it becomes a "gratuitous" promise, and binds, venially, *ex fidelitate*. The breach of such a promise becomes a sort of falsehood.

In this matter of pledge-making ignorance sometimes causes a false conscience, and it is well that the person who is admitted to the pledge should understand clearly its nature and force. The practical difficulty is that those who are most prone to fail are also most in need of the strongest sanction. A pledge which is recognized as a mere promise made to man, or a personal resolution, will have less effect against the strong trend of an evil habit, whereas the thought that its violation involves serious sin will make the holder careful about avoiding occasions. Consequently a prudent pastor always endeavours to enrol applicants for the pledge, whether they are those who need to break a bad habit or those who fear to establish one, or those who are influenced by fraternal charity, in some association where they will have the support of the like-minded, and where other exercises of virtue are practised and encouraged as a means of building up and safeguarding strong characters or repairing those that are weakened.

18. *The true Motives for Temperance.*

This introduces the last element of our discussion of the moral aspects of the drink question. Intemperance less or greater is, like avarice and lust, essentially a moral evil, and calls for moral remedies. In the alcoholized subject an animal craving, which cannot even be called natural,

since mere beasts do not ordinarily follow their appetites to their own destruction, has in this one point broken down the control of reason: the damage is in the spiritual part, and it is there that it must be repaired. Physical remedies, the removal of temptation, the arousing of other interests, are very useful and may be even necessary as helpful conditions, but of themselves they will never restore lost will-tissues. Consequently, as we have seen in our sketch of Catholic Temperance Organizations, the Church insists on such societies being mainly religious, membership being confined to practising Catholics, and other objects, such as sick-benefit, life-insurance, etc., being secondary. She holds out total abstinence as practically necessary for the victims of drink and as highly expedient for the spiritual welfare of the self-controlled and self-sacrificing. And, as long as these motives are prominent, we may trust that the temperance movement will grow in strength and influence. Utilitarian motives, of course, abound. A prudent self-regard may prompt abstinence from what does not benefit and may easily injure health, what is a source of considerable expense bringing in no adequate return, what experience has shown leads to loss of will-power and mental energy. Enlightened patriotism may suggest personal withdrawal from the encouragement of what, *de facto*, is a grave social evil. The premium set on temperance by many prudent employers may influence a man whose strength and integrity form a useful asset. But these are not the supernatural motives which make total abstinence an act of virtue. The desire to atone for past excess, or to offer reparation for the excess of others, or to encourage those who are in the grip of a bad habit, or simply to assert command over an appetite apt to rebel—these, on the contrary, all involve the interests of Almighty God more or less explicitly and ennoble the conduct that they inspire. Much more does the purpose to imitate the Man of Sorrows, by denying oneself permanently for the love of Him what ranks as one of the pleasures of life, elevate total abstinence to the level of virtue, and associate the abstainer in some degree with those who have left all to follow

Christ. Motives such as these, combined with the sense that God who inspires them must also enable them to be duly fulfilled, serve to keep total abstinence from being merely one form of refined selfishness or a pharisaic assumption of superior virtue. They make an appeal to generosity and unselfishness: at the same time, they depend upon the practice both of humility and confidence.

The ethical bearing of the various systems proposed to combat the ravages of the drink-habit will best be considered in the chapter describing these suggested or attempted measures. The Catholic principles that individual liberty must be respected unless in any particular case it is incompatible with real social welfare, and that abuse, unless exceedingly prevalent, does not destroy the right to use, form the main tests whereby to judge their morality.

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMICS OF THE QUESTION

I. *The Range of Economics.*

THE true wealth of a State consists in the individual well-being of all its citizens. To-day the fact that all the great nations of the world, aiming at the social betterment of their members, are concerning themselves more and more with the Drink Question, is a sign that drinking habits are now felt, more than ever before, to be an obstacle to progress. The temporal well-being of its subjects is the *raison d'être* of the State. In the ideal commonwealth there should be no preventable moral or physical disease; the workers should receive a fair wage, enabling them to live human lives in decent surroundings, and to bring up their families in health and vigour. No citizen, if the full aims of the State are to be realized, should, by economic pressure, be so circumstanced as not to have time and opportunity to develop the mental and spiritual side of his nature. In our complex modern organization the difficulty is, not to indicate what needs reformation, but rather to suggest remedies which shall effect their object without causing harm in other directions. Maladies of long growth require time and patience for their healing. And a further complication arises from the fact that reform must proceed simultaneously in many directions. An improvement in material conditions unaccompanied by greater powers of self-discipline might ruin society, as it has often ruined the individual. The abuse of alcohol is not the cause of the present unjust and unstable industrial organization: not the thirst for drink, but an even more deeply-rooted appetite, the thirst for gold—*auri sacra fames*—has produced at one and the same time the multi-

millionaire and the landless proletarian. The economic ravages of intemperance are themselves often the effect of unchristian social conditions.

2. *Instances of Economic Waste.*

However, we are here concerned with excess in drink alone, and are endeavouring to estimate what economic results it produces in a community such as this where it is so prevalent. As before remarked, there are many other ways in which material resources, represented by money, are wasted. The natural virtue of thrift is not much cultivated in these days of pleasure. Reformers are fond of calculating how much could be done in the way of permanently useful work if only people could be weaned from this or that form of wasteful extravagance. What untold sums go in ribbons and furs and feathers, let the enormous dividends of the haberdashery companies proclaim. And as for tobacco, the craving for which in so many cases is a voluntarily induced necessity, an American writer has calculated that in his country smokers

"spend in a single year twice the amount spent by the entire country in railway travel, and about three times the amount which it spends on its common school system; they pay out annually about three times the entire cost of the Panama Canal; they destroy directly about three times as much property as was destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake; their smokes and chews cost them about twice what it costs to maintain the government of the United States, including the interest on the public debt."¹

Much more harmful both to character and resources is the passion for gambling which, like intoxication, is the abuse of a permissible practice. Enormous sums of money, reckoned at about £100,000,000,² are wasted every year in this practice, wasted in the sense that, raised to a large extent from the poorer sections of the Community, it is spent without any adequate return, adding nothing to the

¹ *The Unpopular Review*. No. 1. "Our Tobacco: Its Costs."

² Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, *sub voce*; Hogge, *Betting and Gambling*.

permanent wealth of the community and enriching only a small unworthy parasitic class.

3. *Unique Character of Waste caused by Drink.*

Whilst deploring, therefore, the immense waste of material resources involved in expenditure on drink, let us not forget that it is only one way, if the chief, in which human folly and short-sightedness display themselves. On the other hand, those who try to turn the tables on the temperance reformer by reckoning up the colossal sum spent on non-alcoholic beverages—tea, coffee, cocoa, mineral waters, etc.,—which is estimated at over a hundred millions sterling, do not reflect that these substances, when not actually foods, are generally innocuous in their effects on bodily and social health. No one ruins his health or beats his wife or starves his children through devotion to cocoa.¹ They perform the proper functions of drink, refreshing, strengthening, and stimulating, without doing harm to the partaker. Whereas, owing to the incessant inducements to excess and its consequent prevalence, the expenditure on strong drink represents not only so much actual waste of money, but the purchase of a host of other evils affecting the individual and the community. Add to this that the present expenditure on strong drink has increased fourfold in a century while the population has not doubled, is not demanded in the interests of health or efficiency, not necessitated by climate or occupation, is a matter largely of custom founded upon ignorance, yet one which may ultimately become inveterate, and it will be seen how great is the economic importance of checking this source of waste.

4. *What is wasted in Money.*

We may begin by stating the amount of what is called the annual "drink bill" in the United Kingdom, a sum calculated yearly by the Secretary of the "United King-

¹ All the same, if it is no more than a coincidence, it must be deemed an unfortunate one that some of the prominent temperance reformers in England are financially interested in cocoa. The fact cannot fail to discount in this censorious world their zeal against the traffic in strong drink.

dom Alliance," from the retail price of the spirits, beer and wine retained for consumption. In one sense this is an *ex parte* statement, for the Alliance only exists in order to suppress the Liquor Traffic, but it is based upon the figures supplied from official Government sources, and hostile criticism, which at most knocks off a few millions, does not materially affect it. We give the figures for the last five years available :—

1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.
£155,162,485.	£157,604,658.	£162,797,229.	£161,553,330	£166,681,000
<i>Per capita—</i>				
£3 8s. 11½d.	£3 9s. 3½d.	£3 11s. 10½d.	£3 10s. 9d.	£3 12s. 5d.

In regard to the *per capita* estimates it must be remembered that children under fifteen, whose consumption of alcoholic beverages cannot be very large, total about 14,000,000, and that a fairly large number of adults are total abstainers, so that the amounts spent by drinkers should be considerably increased. It is a startling thing to realize that during the past five years over eight hundred million pounds—about £150,000,000 more than the National Debt—have been spent in a practice, the moral or physical benefit of which is infinitesimal when contrasted with its patent and enormous evil and the immense good forgone. And our wonder is increased when we reflect that, on a low computation, two-thirds of this amount is expended by those who cannot afford it, if they are to maintain a decent livelihood for themselves and their families. We are not forgetting what sometimes is ignored, that a considerable fraction of this huge sum is recovered for the community for public purposes—over £35,000,000 a year for the period under consideration. But over against this must be set not only the loss of life and the decrease of productiveness directly due to excessive drinking, but a large proportion of the cost of maintaining prisons, police, the destitute, asylums, etc., a burden which is greatly increased by alcoholic indulgence. The share of this that drink causes is estimated in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*,¹ as over £27,000,000 yearly, without including any

¹ Vol v., *sub voce*, "Drunkenness," where detailed statistics are given.

portion of the expenditure on Old Age Pensions. Consequently were drinking as a national habit abolished to-morrow, the community would presently find itself more than recouped by deliverance from a great proportion of these heavy charges. They are not due merely to absolute but to relative excess, which is determined by other considerations besides the amount taken. Let us see in more detail to what extent pauperism, ill-health, lunacy and crime are traceable to excessive drinking. Obviously we cannot here discuss statistics at any great length or give the results of a prolonged personal investigation. It will be enough to quote the testimony of competent observers, as illustrating and confirming what we should expect *a priori*.

5. *The Economic Waste from drink-caused Poverty.*

In regard then, to destitution, it is clear that in a country where a large proportion of the wage-earners (nearly one half) are, assuming all their wage to be used for their maintenance, on or under the border line of want, and where two-thirds of the national expenditure on drink comes from their ranks, that the estimated average of over 6s. a week per family spent on drink must bring very many well within the zone of absolute indigence. The money spent by the working-classes in this way is not, recollect, taken from their reserve funds, for they have none ; it is taken from what is needed often for bare existence and always for existence under decent human conditions.¹ So we have vast numbers thrown on the rates under the Poor Law or on the resources of charitable organizations who but for drink could support themselves. To this effect is the testimony of the Poor Law Commission of 1909, viz.—

“ A great weight of evidence indicates Drink as the most potent and universal factor in bringing about pauperism.”

The Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, an acknowledged expert,

¹ *Vid. sup.*, chap. i, p. 24.

in his volume, *The Life and Labour of the People of London*, says:—

“Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories [he narrates] tell enough. . . . Drink must, therefore, be accounted the most prolific of all causes [of poverty], and is the least necessary.”

Marshall, in his *Economics of Industry*, maintains that—

“The prevalence of intemperate habits in a country diminishes both the number of days in the week and the number of years in his life during which the breadwinner is earning full wages.”

Finally, Mr. P. Snowden, speaking of Liquor Taxation, says:—

“The national revenue from the liquor traffic is simply an indication of the extent of social waste and social poverty which is caused by that traffic.”

6. *Economic Waste in the matter of Health.*

As regards ill-health and premature death resulting from alcoholic excess, enough perhaps has been said in the first chapter. There we saw what average amount of alcohol could be disposed of in twenty-four hours without risk of harm, viz. about one oz. As a matter of fact a large majority of public-house drinkers exceed this amount and must be classed as chronic alcoholics, liable to all the internal derangements connected with that state. O'Malley,¹ a very moderate writer, goes as far as to assert that to take habitually at one sitting a quart of English porter will almost certainly induce chronic alcoholism. “A pint of champagne, French claret, or of mediumly strong Rhine wine, about a tumbler and a half of sherry, and about half a tumbler of whisky” reach the limit of harmlessness. “A man that takes a pint of claret at dinner habitually is a chronic alcoholic,

¹ *The Cure of Alcoholism*, p. 18.

and is certainly injuring his health.”¹ Another American doctor who favours the moderate use of alcoholic drinks, considers the permissible quantity to be “one, or at most two, glasses of wine (10 per cent. alcohol), or one pint beer, or their equivalent in the twenty-four hours.”² Horsley and Sturge will not admit a minimum dose at all. “It is quite impossible to state that any given minimal amount of the drug is harmless to our tissues.”³ At the same time, although alcohol, like other drugs, induces a craving,⁴ it is easy enough, given ordinary circumstances and other forms of recreation, to avoid forming a vicious habit of excess. There are many moderate drinkers who remain strictly moderate without any difficulty. To say that the ranks of the drunkards are recruited from those of the moderates, is simply to state the truism that no one acquires an evil habit all of a sudden. But there is no inevitability about the lapse. The slight injury to health, the lowered vitality and lessened power of resistance to disease, the bad psychological effects of moderate indulgence, may all be counteracted by exercise and other remedies, or made inappreciable by a very strong constitution. As before pointed out, the moderate drinker is not *per se* morally blameworthy, he uses his freedom, it may be less wisely, but still within permissible limits. But excess in the individual case may at times be committed through mere ignorance of the nature of alcohol or of one’s own particular bodily state. Medical and statistical testimony concur, as we have seen, in declaring that, in the aggregate, immense injury to bodily and mental vigour is *de facto* done by the present drinking habits of the community. Other evidence of this abounds. When bodily strength and endurance is required, the abstainer provides it best.

¹ O’Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

² Prof. Abel, in *Critical Review of the Pharmacological Action of Ethyl Alcohol*.

³ *Alcohol and the Human Body* (1911), p. 16.

⁴ This is one of its most dangerous characteristics. “Alcohol,” says Sir Frederic Treves, “is a curiously insidious poison in that it produces effects which seem to have only one antidote—alcohol again. This applies to another drug equally insidious, and that is morphia or opium.” Hence the tippler’s proverb—“Take a hair of the dog that bit you.”

Arctic explorers are practically unanimous concerning the harmfulness of strong drink in their particular work. Sir E. Shackleton says, "that alcohol in any form in the Arctic or Antarctic regions is most injurious and is never used."¹ Similarly, Nansen writes: "My experience leads me to take a decided stand against the use of stimulants and narcotics of all kinds."² The use of strong drink lessens the soldier's value. Sir Frederick Treves, accompanying the 30,000 men who marched to the relief of Ladysmith, noted that the first to leave the ranks were the drinkers. "They dropped out as clearly as if they had been labelled." A well-known saying of Von Moltke's—"Beer is a far more dangerous enemy to Germany than all the armies of France"—was not meant to depreciate French prowess. The discouragement of drink in the British Army and Navy points in the same direction.³

7. *Economic Loss in the matters of Mental Energy and Mechanical Skill.*

Experience, too, has shown that mental efficiency is impaired by alcohol. Von Helmholtz felt that the smallest quantity checked in himself all creative mental activity. Various other observers have ascertained that minute doses quicken mental action for a short time, but then retard it below the normal standard. Huxley is even more emphatic against its employment. "For no conceivable consideration would I use it to whip up a tired or sluggish brain."

Once more, where manual skill and dexterity are concerned, alcohol proves to be a disturbing factor. Professor Kraepelin, of Heidelberg, conducted a series of experiments,⁴ tending to show that even small doses have a cumulative effect in lessening efficiency. And, as a practical

¹ Letter quoted in the *Times*, September 8, 1909.

² *The First Crossing of Greenland*.

³ In the Navy men may choose a money equivalent for the gratification. It is said that over 40 per cent. of British soldiers in India are teetotalers. The Norwegian Storting has just (June 1914) passed a bill prohibiting strong drink in Army and Navy.

⁴ Summarized in *Alcohol and the Human Body*, chap. v.

recognition of the same fact, we see that workers on whose skill and presence of mind the safety of the public largely depends are in many cases obliged by their employers to be teetotalers. Many of the great railways in the United States require total abstinence from their men when on duty, and not a few even when off. (*U.K.A. Annual*, 1913, p. 104.)

8. *The Loss due to Premature Death.*

It is plain then, without quoting further, that drink is a prolific source of ill-health and loss of productiveness. That it leads directly and indirectly to premature death is equally certain. Directly by the diseases, such as acute alcoholic poisoning and alcoholic neuritis, caused by the drug itself; indirectly by those ailments of which it is a determining or contributing cause.¹ Dr. Norman Kerr, in his *Inebriety* (p. 381), estimates that from 100,000 to 120,000 deaths per annum in the British Isles are traceable to the effects of alcohol: 40,000 are due to the drug alone, without reckoning those (50 per cent. of suicides, 15 per cent. of total accidents) in which it gave occasion for the action of other causes. Our frail bodies have many other enemies. The deaths from consumption alone are reckoned at about 50,000 per annum, but these, unlike those resulting from drink, are due to a cause not yet wholly preventable. On the other hand, nearly all the most fatal diseases—consumption, pneumonia, cholera, etc.—are best resisted by those who have abstained from all strong drink. The “International Congress on Tuberculosis” (Paris, 1905), resolved “that in view of the close connexion between alcoholism and tuberculosis, this Congress strongly emphasizes the importance of combining the fight against tuberculosis with the struggle against alcoholism.” Statistics published by the Registrar-General (65th Annual Report) show that the death rate from consumption among those engaged in the retailing of drink is largely in excess of that prevailing in all other occupations.² As

¹ Horsley and Sturge *op. cit.* enumerate (pp. 230–1) seven of the former class and over thirty of the latter.

² *The Alcohol Factor in Social Conditions*, p. 39. Sir. J. Crichton-

regards pneumonia, Professors Osler and Macrae (1910) write—

“ It has long been known that habitual drunkards have a very slim chance of recovery when attacked by pneumonia, and it is noted that the mortality amongst moderate drinkers is higher than among total abstainers.”¹

And this statement is borne out by the mortality rate in pneumonia, viz. : Total abstainers, 18.5 per cent ; moderate drinkers, 25.4 per cent ; intemperate, 52.8 per cent. We have already (pp. 16-17) shown how the business of the Insurance Societies accords with these medical views.

9. *The Loss through Insanity caused by Drink.*

The connexion between indulgence in alcohol and lunacy is also undisputed. The number of insane confined in our asylums is increasing out of proportion to the population. In 1913 it reached the figure of 138,377 (for England and Wales), 21.4 per cent more than the number 10 years ago. In 1904 it was 117,199, of which number Dr. Robert Jones demonstrated² about 11,000 males and 6,000 females owed their affliction directly or indirectly to drink. Before the “ Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration ” of that year, Dr. Wiglesworth, of Rainhill County Asylum, testified that “ Alcohol is an extremely potent cause of lunacy.” Then he gave as the result of eleven years observation of cases admitted that 29.28 per cent of those were drink cases. The Lunacy Commissioner’s Report for the whole of England and Wales gives the percentage as 24 for men, 9.1 for women.³

Of the still greater number of the Feeble-minded (reported by the Royal Commission in 1908 to number nearly 150,000,

Browne dissents from the view “ that the regular use of alcohol increases the liability to all kinds of disease,” but he allows that “ the irregular or immoderate use of alcohol predisposes to disease.” Evidently, here is a question of terms : what does Sir James consider “ immoderate ” ?

¹ Quoted in *Fifty Doctors against Alcohol*, p. 97.

² *British Journal of Inebriety*, July, 1904.

³ *Fifty Doctors against Alcohol*, p. 145.

or 1 in 217 of the population), it may be said that alcohol has much to do with their state, not so much by direct action as by the accident of their birth. Dr. Potts, giving evidence before that Commission, declared that out of the life histories of 250 feeble-minded children he had personally examined, alcoholism figured in no less than 104.¹

Thus, there is a vast wastage of the nation's life and energy through this preventable cause. Not only do many people die before their natural time, but many come into the world unfit for ordinary existence and, during their life-time, they are a burden on the resources of the community. Consequently, the economic effects of the prevalence of drinking habits as one source of moral and physical unfitness are very great and very disastrous indeed.

10. *Drink and Crime.*

When sin ceases to be purely personal and has social results as well, then it comes under the cognizance of the State, has to be banned as crime, repressed, punished and corrected by the exertions and at the expense of the community. Sin is a rebellion, in the pursuit of personal interest, against the law of God, and crime is selfishness cultivated against the interests of fellow-citizens or of the State. The claims of God and of the State alike are recognized by reason and accepted by will. Whatever diminishes the control of reason and will in man *ipso facto* sets free instincts and appetites which are purely self-regarding. Man takes on the resemblance of an irrational animal, of one moreover, not trained and disciplined to good behaviour by education or instinct, but led only by its passions and inclinations. We should expect, therefore, to find those given to alcoholic excess exhibit a tendency to commit sin and crime when occasion offers. Statistics and the deliberate testimony of experts bear out this expectation. The following dicta of well-known judges have often been quoted, but are worth recording again.

Justice Coleridge (1877): "If we could make England sober we might shut up nine-tenths of the gaols."

¹ *Alcohol and the Human Body*, p 254, where see other evidence.

Justice Hawkins (1883): "The root of almost all crime is drink. I do believe that nine-tenths of the crime committed in this country—and certainly in this county [Durham]—is engendered within the doors of the drinking house."

Justice Barnes, President of the Divorce Court (1906): "I am fairly convinced that if drink was eradicated, this court might shut its doors, at any rate for the greater part of the time."

Justice Alverstone (1909): "I have no hesitation in saying that 90 per cent. of the crime of the country is caused by indulgence in strong drink."

Justice Phillimore (1913): "Of the evils of excessive drinking, anybody who has been an employer of labour, a man of business, and, above all things a judge in a criminal court, is able to bear the very highest testimony. . . . Some of the worst crimes I have had to deal with in an experience of 15 years were crimes committed by men who had been in that state which the police technically describe as 'in drink, but not drunk.'"

One might fill a book with testimonies from police magistrates as to the close connexion of drink with the varieties of crimes against person, property and public order that come before them, especially crimes of cruelty exercised upon women and children; but there is no need to elaborate a point so obvious. At the same time it must be remembered that these testimonies regard only our own time and country. Drink is not the sole cause of crime; man's passions can be unchained by other agencies. Crime can and does exist in lands noted for sobriety, as for instance in regions peopled by Mohammedans. And we may repeat our warning that, if drink is the cause of crime, the inhuman unchristian conditions of life in which so many of the workers have to live are the cause of drink. When eminent judges say that temperance would abolish crime, they imply that the practice of temperance would enable the people to free themselves from the wretched environment in which crime is inevitably fostered. "Drink is the mother of want," said Lord Brougham, "and the nurse of crime." A heartless

commercialism which treats human beings as "hands," not as "souls," is often the parent of excessive drinking, as the one escape possible from the misery it engenders.

II. *Drink in other Countries.*

We have spoken hitherto of the economic loss the country suffers from over-indulgence in liquor, resulting in fewer and less healthy citizens and in widespread anti-social activities. Of other countries some do not suffer in like proportion: others are in more desperate case. The Americans drink heavily, yet they fall 70 millions a year short of our standard. If we drank only as they do in Canada we should save 120 millions a year. On the other hand, we are better off in this matter of waste than France, Germany and Belgium. We have considered how health and happiness, money and morality are all squandered in pursuit of this luxury. But there is another aspect, also financial, which we have not yet dwelt upon, and that is the position of the Licensed Trade itself in our midst.

12. *The Liquor Traffic and the State.*

The financial case against expenditure in drink is that it is not only waste on a colossal scale of resources¹ which, if spent productively, would alleviate most of the physical miseries of the community, but that it positively induces a number of woes peculiar to itself, which have no compensating advantages. Assuming, then, that the liquor traffic is one which needs careful watching and strict

¹ Amongst the waste of resources not previously mentioned must be reckoned the immense amount of barley that is raised and imported for brewing purposes. According to Horsley and Sturge (*op. cit.*, p. 29), 65,000,000 bushels of barley are grown in the United Kingdom and 19 million cwts., or about 40 million bushels, are imported for brewing and distilling. Thus over one hundred million bushels of highly nutritious food is converted into a substance which, whatever else it does, does not nourish. Add to this the huge sums which are sunk in the brewing, distilling and sale of alcoholic liquors, i.e., in the manufacture and distribution of an article of luxury which most people will agree does much more harm than good. The nominal capital of the drink industry is between 250 and 275 million pounds, and it is safe to say that the greater proportion of this could be far more usefully employed.

control (and all experience proves this), the existence of this vast, largely anti-social interest constitutes a very difficult politico-economic problem. In the United Kingdom there are 152 distilleries, producing 45 million gallons of spirits annually, and 4,062 brewing firms, manufacturing over 1,300 millions. The brewers employ 106,000 persons, the distillers 1,510 (Census of Production, 1907). The tendency is to get the control of the wholesale trade into comparatively few hands. Thus some ten of the distilling firms overshadow all the others, and the number of wholesale brewers has decreased from 28,679 in 1870 to 4,062 in 1912,¹ of which latter number 8 per cent produce 80 per cent of the material brewed. The fact that the control is in a few hands would not be in itself a disadvantage (for a few, *ceteris paribus*, can more easily be reached by law), were it not for the fact that the interest in the liquor traffic is very widespread. Following on the successful flotation in 1887 of the firm of Guinness as a public company, many other liquor manufacturers followed suit, with the result that the public invested extensively in what promised so excellent a return, and consequently a great number of people became financially concerned with the maintenance and spread of the Trade.² This is obviously a great hindrance to any reform which may be found necessary. In any community the presence of a section whose interest is bound up with the encouragement of an extremely wasteful form of expenditure,³ indulgence in which is adverse to moral and material well-being, cannot but constitute a grave danger. The Trade and those connected with it, control-

¹ *Annual Parliamentary Return of Brewers' Licences.*

² "The shares are mainly held by the wealthy classes of the community. In 1903 there were on the registers the names of 1,000 medical men, over 1,000 Army and Navy officers, over 1,200 clergy of the Established Church, 163 peers, 880 knights and ladies, and honourables not a few." G. A. Wilson in the *Alliance Year-Book* for 1914, p. 62.

³ A Committee of the British Association, which discussed the question in 1882, estimated that only about 20 per cent. of the expenditure on drink could be economically justified, "the remainder being either pure luxury or sheer waste." See *The Temperance Problem* (Rowntree and Sherwell), p. 25.

ling capital to the amount of £240,000,000,¹ and owning over 145,000 liquor shops (1909), organized into some half-score large Federations and 700 odd local societies, "to protect and advance its interests," maintaining a press with the same object and having many of its leaders in both Houses of Parliament, form a veritable *imperium in imperio*, and an active anti-social element, which has and must have serious economic results. It should not, we repeat, be to the interest of any section of the community that enormous sums of money are wasted in luxury to the detriment of those habits of thrift, prudence and self-control that make for the welfare of the State. Just as the fact of the manufacture of war-material being in private hands may contribute periodically to the danger of war-scares, so does this element of private gain connected with the drink traffic tend effectually to hinder temperance reform.

13. *Excessive Profits unevenly divided.*

Those gains are very large. We have seen how the State in self-protection makes the manufacture and sale of strong liquor dear (chap. ii.). But its very attempt to control creates a monopoly by withdrawing the article from competition. And hence in the actual disposal of its stock the Trade makes enormous profits.² In the first place, it pays very poorly the labourers employed by it, besides employing a much smaller number in proportion. The percentage of wages to capital given by Pratt³ is 15, which is very much above that quoted for individual breweries. The percentage in other trades, such as boot-making in Somersetshire, ranges as high as 43. It is said that the firm of Guinness makes six times the amount of its wages in profits. From 1887, when it became a joint-stock concern, to 1910 this business, according to its own published balance sheet, made £40,149,285 profit, drawn mostly from an already impover-

¹ *Brewers' Almanack*, 1911, p. 405.

² According to Rowntree and Sherwell *op. cit.* 20 per cent. net is a low reckoning.

³ *The Licensed Trade*: a standard book in its defence.

ished country. One may judge by the brewery dividends quoted how general is this prosperity in the Trade.¹ It is not a healthy prosperity. It is a heavy tax levied in the interests of comparatively few on the weakness and misery of the many, who would not be tempted to drink to excess unless that were the only recreation open to them. The benefit does not accrue to the purchaser who buys an intrinsically worthless article at an enormously enhanced price. It is estimated that a "proof"² gallon of alcohol costs 7*d.* to manufacture, whilst the duties imposed on it amount to 22*s.* 6*d.* A man who spends fourpence a day on beer pays in reality 1*9s.* annually to the Exchequer and £5 to the Trade.³

We may defer the discussion of the economic effects of the State regulation of the Liquor Traffic to the next chapter, which will deal with the Solution of the Question.

¹ The Trade in 1909 turned over £121,000,000 after deducting what it paid to the State; of this £78,250,000 went in cost of manufacture, wages, rent, rates, and material, leaving £42,750,000, about one-third, for expenses of upkeep and profits. (*Alliance Year-Book*, 1911, p. 13.)

² I.e., containing 57 per cent of pure alcohol.

³ G. B. Wilson, *Alliance Year-Book* for 1912, p. 28.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION

1. *A Multiplicity of Schemes.*

THE preceding pages, especially the chapters summarizing the history of the temperance movement, will have given evidence enough that the community, whether represented by the Government or by voluntary agencies (inspired generally by religious organizations), has long been earnestly trying to remedy the evils connected with the habits of drink. In practice, no complete solution has yet been found, although the whole ground, from entire prohibition of manufacture and sale right up to free-trade in alcoholic beverages, has been covered with schemes. As the evils of strong drink arise from the circumstances of the drinker as well as from the drink itself, remedies, to be effectual, must aim at removing both the proximate and remote causes of excess, at strengthening the will as well as lessening the force of temptation. In discussing the various acts and projects having in view the elimination of the drink evil, we must confine ourselves to those that directly concern the manufacture and distribution of strong drink. Otherwise, we should have to include in our purview all that is being done to improve the social circumstances of the worker and to provide him, not merely with more adequate wages—which alone would only aggravate the situation—but to alter his ideals and provide more worthy means of recreation than he finds to hand at present.

2. *Catholic View at variance with that of U.K. Alliance.*

In enumerating and criticizing various anti-alcoholic measures, we assume, to start with, the Catholic doctrine

that the abuse of a thing is no justification for forbidding its use, unless the abuse is so prevalent and so inevitable as practically to admit of no other remedy than prohibition. The "United Kingdom Alliance," one of the oldest and probably the most influential of non-Catholic temperance organizations, has long ago despaired of the republic in this regard. It maintains that the evil effects of the Drink Trade in causing crime, extravagance, social corruption, disease, and death, are so contrary both to public and private welfare that it is the duty of the State to abolish it root and branch, especially as no system of regulation has hitherto succeeded, nor can any in future hope to succeed, in keeping it under due control. Moreover, as the bad results are so inevitable, so "essentially mischievous," the Alliance holds that to draw profit, public or private, from this traffic, which is "utterly wrong in principle," is unjustifiable, and that its suppression is quite compatible with rational liberty. Now, apart from such exaggerations as "*essentially mischievous*," and "*utterly wrong in principle*" which have no proper support in fact, even if we grant the rest of the Alliance hypothesis, we cannot admit the conclusion. For underlying its argument is the assumption that civil legislation is the only means by which temperance can be promoted. Whereas, as we have already pointed out, at the root of the drink-evil there are others still more fundamental, viz., ignorance of the character of the article consumed, absence of the moral and religious motives for temperance, the force of traditional customs, and an iniquitous industrial system which makes so many of our workers turn to alcoholic indulgence as the readiest form of recreation available. The Alliance itself being "non-sectarian" is doubtless prevented by its constitutions from dwelling on the inward change of heart and will, necessary for real reformation, only to be produced by religious influences and not to be made up for by mere external law, but surely its own record should show how much can be accomplished by purely secular influences, such as instruction in the harm done by drink and a widening and elevating of the mental horizon of the toilers. At any

rate, the Catholic is more hopeful of the effects of legislative intervention, direct and indirect, as a necessary means of removing temptation and allowing free play for character-development. From this standpoint he does not admit either that the disease is generally so inveterate as to justify the desperate remedy of State prohibition or that State interference in the past (which he grants has often been injudicious and harmful) has been wholly unsuccessful. In this spirit he approaches the consideration of the existing system and of the various modifications or substitutions proposed the more effectually to attain its end, i.e. the proper control, in the interests of the individual and the State, of the trade in strong drink. Our purpose then is to describe the chief systems as they are at present and test them from the point of view of efficiency and morality.

3. *The Licensing System.*

This is by far the oldest plan and has its roots deep in the historic past. Since 1552, the method used in this country has been, roughly, that the State should control the manufacture and sale, whether retail or wholesale, of strong drink, and that the Justices of the Peace should select from all applicants persons fit to be entrusted with the retail.

The State does not limit the amount manufactured, except indirectly by the duties it imposes. Now, if the duty exacted were such that the manufacturer or wholesale dealer could not hope to recoup his outlay and make a profit by the sale, then the State would be practically prohibiting the manufacture.¹ Similarly by exacting licences so high that retailers could not gain a livelihood, it could equivalently stop the retail. In practice, of course, the duties levied on manufacture and by licence are not, though heavy, prohibitive. For whatever the charge made for duties and licences, it is paid ultimately by the drinking public: the

¹ From 1900-1909 the consumption of spirits in the British Isles dropped from 1.1 to .88 gals. per head: in the year 1909-10 after the imposition of a heavier duty the drop was from .88 to .58, representing a diminution of 10,000,000 gallons. It now stands (1913) at .67.

publican buys his licence and passes on the amount of duties levied to his customers in the shape of enhanced prices : we have seen that the profits of the Trade remain in all circumstances disproportionately high. The public cannot resent high prices, except by confining themselves to relatively cheap drinks or, better, by becoming abstainers ; unless they take this latter step they must pay what the Trade asks. For the inevitable result of the Licensing System is to create a *monopoly*, and the amalgamation of the manufacturing firms, and the control they have obtained over retailers by the system of " tied-houses,"¹ tends to make the monopoly more absolute. A monopoly business is more profitable than one under free competition and hence it attracts capital and grows in strength through the very number of persons interested in its welfare. If ever what is called the " Liquor Interest " becomes predominant in the House of Commons, as it is said to be in the House of Lords, then legislation, by means of which public opinion becomes finally operative, cannot be relied on to help the temperance movement. No great financial interest can be expected to take steps seriously to limit its own gains. Theoretically, since justices' licences had the character of a free gift which had to be asked for every year, they created no vested interest, but popular feeling made them practically renewable on demand unless grave misconduct compelled their refusal. In 1904, as we have seen (p. 41), the right of compensation for refusal on grounds of superfluity was for the first time established by law, so that now the licence-holders have practically a legal claim to renewal—a fact which naturally hampers the work of reform. However, the compensation fund, as is only just, is raised by a levy on

¹ A " tied-house," generally indicated by " So-and-So's Entire " being extensively advertised, is a public-house belonging to a brewery and either leased to a tenant or run by a manager who is its servant. Pratt (*The Licensed Trade*, p. 93) estimates that 92 per cent. of the public-houses are " tied."

The legality of the managerial system has recently (April, 1914) been denied by a Liverpool magistrate, but his decision may not be upheld.

the Trade, which does not suffer, since the diminution of licences increases the value of those which survive.

4. *Efficiency of the Licensing System.*

There is nothing in the Licensing System, as it is at present, that the moralist can object to. Can we say that it is also effective? We must examine the results.

Acting on the sound principle that the more temptation to over-indulgence, the greater the amount of excess, the Justices of late years have begun to limit the number of new licences they grant and to diminish the number of old. The result of their action is a progressive decrease in the number of licensed premises, which stood in 1912 at 113,664 in England and Wales, 10,302 in Scotland, and 23,207 in Ireland. The corresponding numbers in 1896 were 130,000 (about); 11,399; 24,686. As these are *net* results, allowing for new licences, they indicate that in these seventeen years considerably more than 26,912 licences were abolished as injurious or superfluous. Reckoned with reference to each 1,000 of the population, the decrease has been from 3.34 to 2.45 in England and Wales, and (in regard to "on" licences) from 1.68 to 1.40 in Scotland, whereas in Ireland, owing partly to the diminishing population and partly to the irresponsible levity of the Bench in granting licences, "on-licences" per 1,000 have risen from 3.78 to 3.84.¹ The United Kingdom "Drink Bill" also has decreased with occasional wide fluctuations (it was £185,927,227 in 1899 and £155,162,485, ten years later, in 1909) during the same seventeen years from £170,426,467 to £161,553,330. The wide variation, however (in 1913 it was £166,631,000), shows that other causes, besides the number of licensed houses, affect the drinking habits of the people. Prosperous trade, for instance, full employment and good wages, are reflected immediately in the increase of the "Drink Bill."

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 41. In spite of a widespread and energetic reform movement, organized public opinion has not yet reached the Irish licensing Bench which seems incapable of considering the question in the light of the national welfare. In a village near Cork the writer last summer counted over sixty licensed premises in the main street.

5. *Statistics of Drunkenness.*

More evidence of success may perhaps be traced in the official returns concerning drunkenness, although they are generally of such a character as hardly to afford a basis for accurate calculation. Some returns give proceedings for drunkenness, others only convictions, and both numbers must vary considerably according to the idiosyncracies of the police ¹ and the magistrates. Yet, making allowance for such uncertainties, we gather from the reports that in all three kingdoms proceedings for drunkenness in 1910 were from 83 to 73 per cent. less than they were in 1890. There is no doubt that public drunkenness (which it must be remembered is only one form of excess) is gradually decreasing and little doubt that licensing reform has helped to this end. Still, we cannot say yet that the present system has brought the Drink Traffic under effective control, so as to reduce its evil results to a minimum. The decrease in inebriety is so very gradual. In 1911 there were 338,721 proceedings for drunkenness in the United Kingdom, being 749 per cent. of the whole population; in 1912 with an increased population the percentage also increased slightly, being 795 (whole number 363,434).² We must, therefore, search for some other cause preventing the diminution of opportunity having its natural effect. That cause is the activity of the Liquor Trade which by advertisement and other means pushes the sale of drink. It *must* do so to succeed and prosper. Any general diminution in the amount spent upon drink in the country would result in the failure of many brewery companies to pay dividends or to exist at all. Moreover, without any inebriety, a very great number of the people drink more than is good for them. These two facts show, not only that it is vital for the Drink Traffic not to allow the expenditure on drink to fall, but also

¹ Mr. J. Chamberlain, speaking of police returns before the Lords' Committee on Intemperance, said: "I could undertake to have the statistics for Birmingham made ten times as bad as they were before: just one turn of the screw would bring in ten times the number!"

² If the same individual, as often happens, is arrested time after time, and oftener one year than another, the percentage goes up, and the estimate becomes correspondingly misleading.

that thus a constant anti-social influence is at work to defeat reform.

The extinction of licences, the restriction of hours, and other repressive enactments have given rise to an increase in the number of clubs which provide strong drink for their members: many of these are merely public-houses under another form of management and subject to much less stringent rules. However, the whole number of clubs which now (1913) amounts to 9,295 in the United Kingdom, though increasing, increases far less quickly than on-licences diminish. The net increase of clubs from 1905 to 1909 in England and Wales was 769, the net decrease of on-licences, 5,231.

6. *Difficulties of the Licensing System.*

Such, in brief, are the results, so far, of the attempt to restrain the drink-traffic by the Licensing System. Many temperance workers are disposed to despair of this particular machinery. Lord Loreburn, ex-Lord-Chancellor, speaks of its control as "miserably inadequate,"¹ and certainly, even with the awakened sense of responsibility the Justices now manifest, they have not effected much to remedy the evils of excessive drinking. The obstacles are many. The Trade is extensively represented on the Bench, on Town and Borough Councils, on Watch Committees, and in every position of local authority. Every "Brewster Sessions" is the scene of a conflict between this highly-organized body with its wide ramifications of interest, and those who desire to lessen the consumption of drink. The attitude of the Trade is one of righteous defence. "There is nothing," its champions assert, "in the present state of the licensing laws calling for interference in the public interests . . . the existing regulations have been found perfectly sufficient for the purpose for which they were intended. . . . The system should be left alone, the public interests being well protected."² Which

¹ Speech on October 31, 1910.

² *The Case for the Trade.*

is equivalent to saying, in face of clamorous facts, that there is no Drink Question.

Owing to this attitude, and the seeming impossibility of making head against it under the present system, many temperance reformers cry out for a change. The chief methods proposed to replace it are the Swedish (or Gothenburg¹) system adapted to this country, State Monopoly as in force in Russia, and Prohibition, general or local. A word must be said on each of these plans.

7. The Gothenburg System.

The idea of the Swedish System (which was established in 1855 and which applies only to spirits) is to eliminate the element of private gain from the retail traffic. A monopoly is granted to a company of citizens of standing who provide the capital, put in a manager, with a fixed salary, and after deducting five per cent. from the profits, hand over the rest to the municipality in relief of rates. It has been found, alas! that municipalities are not above acquiring popularity by pushing the sale of drink in order to relieve the rates, hence modifications have been introduced providing that the bulk of the profits go directly to the State. The system, although instrumental in effecting many improvements in the conduct and character of the public-house, has not been so successful as its promoters once hoped, and a Swedish Commission is at present reopening the whole question. Still, the essential idea is a good one, viz., that it should be no one's interest to maintain, still less to extend, habits of drinking which are productive of such widespread disaster.

This idea is embodied in the British adaption of the Gothenburg system, which goes by the name of the "People's Refreshment House Association," founded mainly by Bishop Jayne of Chester, in 1897. This society has now (Dec., 1913) control of 120 public-houses, wherein food and non-alcoholic drink are provided and alcoholic beverages are not pushed or advertised, since the manager has no interest

¹ Gothenburg was the first municipality (in 1864) to adopt the system.

in selling them. Associated with this society are local "Public-House Trusts," with which the name of Lord Grey is connected, run on the same lines, and numbering about 180. Apparently the Association is flourishing financially, pays its shareholders the maximum 5 per cent., has a large reserve fund, and made more than £10,000 profit in 1913. What proportion of this arose from the sale of intoxicants does not appear, but it is admitted that "catering in refreshments other than intoxicants is not very remunerative except in the case of large central depots."¹ The main idea underlying this scheme seems to be not only to avoid the pushing of drink as the main object, but also to do away with many of the accidental circumstances of the public-house which serve to promote excess, viz. the standing-bar, the absence of other distractions such as music and games for money, and of eatables and non-alcoholic drinks, the crowded and inconvenient quarters, and the impossibility of family reunions. In other words, the object is to acclimatize in these islands the continental café.

8. *Criticism of the System of "Disinterested Management."*

It seems to us that the ideals of this Association cannot be wholly appoved of. Let us consider some of its drawbacks. First, the *per capita* continental consumption of liquor is much higher in many European countries than it is in the United Kingdom. The late Sir E. Durning-Lawrence quoted, in the *Brewing Trade Review* for February, 1909, figures taken from Government returns which show that, of the Great Powers, France holds the worst record in Europe² for consumption of alcohol, and the United Kingdom nearly the best. The figures range (reduced to proof gallons of spirit) from 9.69 (France), 6.53 (Italy), and so on to Austria (3.71), and the United Kingdom (3.42). The same paper in May, 1912, gave statistics to show that our annual drink

¹ According to the Report of its Public-house Trust, in Cowdenbeath for 1908, the Bar brought in £5,456, the Restaurant £176.

² See also the *Encyclopædia Britannica* under "Temperance." The figures indicate, not that there is more drunkenness, but that drink is more widely distributed.

bill of 160 millions odd would be enormously increased if we adopted the drinking-standards of France, Germany, or Belgium. So that we may conclude that the *café* system does not lead to less consumption of liquor or less waste of national resources. The other improvements suggested for the public-house amount to this, that a great many more people, especially young people and women, would be exposed to the danger of acquiring a taste for alcoholic drink. That vast army of abstainers who are so, not from reasoned conviction, but simply because they have not been *taught* to drink—children of both sexes—would become familiarized with drinking as a means of recreation or as a passport to maturity. To add to the attractiveness of the public-house would be merely to add to the number of drinkers, for those already used to strong drink would not be likely to give it up, whilst a certain proportion of the young would be sure to join them. Our natural suspicions of these recommendations are confirmed by the fact that they have been warmly advocated by brewers and others interested in the maintenance of the liquor traffic. A body calling itself the "True Temperance Association" came into existence in May, 1909, with the ostensible object of pursuing reform upon "common-sense lines." This body, which has the approval and support of the Trade, itself warmly supports the "continental *café*" system, although such a system would be sure to result in a greatly increased consumption of liquor, whilst, as no doubt it would, it did away to some extent with the grosser forms of inebriety now so common amongst us. "The True Temperance Association" would not be welcomed by the "Trade" if its object was to reduce the present excessive waste of the national resources. A scheme, which would eliminate private profit whilst limiting and lessening the consumption of strong drink, would not be approved of by the brewers.

The objection, then, from the temperance point of view to these particular "disinterested management" schemes is that they rely for their fixed dividends on the continuance and spread of drinking habits; that they transfer the

"interest" from the individual to the municipality or to the State, and thus render it harder to control; finally that they do not attack the evil at its source and moderate the *manufacture* of alcoholic drinks. As long as brewers and distillers may produce as much as they choose—they will not so lessen production as to throw their valuable plant out of work—so long will they manage to find a means to dispose of their stock. A glance at some of their journals, especially at the time of a General Election, will indicate their intensely narrow point of view. They are united, organized, and financed frankly for the "interests of the Trade"—"in defence of our property and our homes."¹ Their motives are perfectly intelligible and reasonable on the assumption that there is no Drink Problem; their attitude is thoroughly anti-social in view of the facts.²

9. *State Monopoly.*

The State, we always contend, should have control of the Liquor Traffic because of the disasters and dangers it entails. No more effective way of controlling it can be imagined than that of retaining the right of manufacture and sale in its own hands, as is done in Russia and, as regards the wholesale Trade, in Switzerland. But it demands for its success an enlightened Government. In Russia one-fourth of the national revenue is derived from the State Monopoly, and no Finance Minister has ever been found to do anything to lessen the income from this form of taxation. Statemanship there has not yet learned that it never finally pays to raise money out of what lowers the national character. In Russia, where reform would be so easy, the State is itself the obstacle. Happily, stimulated by the Czar, the authorities have lately begun to take action. The system, in any case, is not practical politics, here or at present, and need not detain us.

10. *Prohibition.*

We come now to what is the real and final aim of many

¹ Charles Walker, Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers Central Protection Society, *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1893.

² In other countries—France, for instance, where reform is even more called for than here—the same anti-social force blocks the way.

temperance reformers,¹ and what consequently arouses such fierce resistance on the part of the Trade—the policy which is generally called “Prohibition” when applied on a large scale, and “Local Option” or “Local Veto” when restricted to a definite locality. It is a system which has been adopted widely in the British Colonies, America, Norway and Sweden, but which does not occur at home, except in certain restricted areas where the owners of large estates have exercised their right to exclude the traffic.²

When general, the prohibiting authority is the State legislature ; when local, a majority of the inhabitants of the locality. The assumption is that the trade in liquor should be measured by the demand of those for whom it is immediately intended—a sound enough economic principle, if it is applied with discrimination. But the ethical soundness of total prohibition, as we have already pointed out, is much more questionable. If a commodity always and everywhere does harm, were it merely physical, to those that partake of it, a Government would only be doing its duty by suppressing common trade in that commodity amongst its subjects. Every civilized State does so with regard to opium and other drugs. But evil as are the effects of strong drink and much as it is abused, we cannot think that the abuse is so widespread and so incurable by other means that total prohibition is justifiable. Man is made moral not by depriving him of liberty of choice, but by teaching him to use it aright. This is the interpretation we must charitably put on Bishop Magee’s famous saying—“Better England free than England sober”—a saying, however, which forgets that England enslaved by drink would not be free. It does not belong to the State, nor even to the Church, to insist on all its members aiming at moral perfection. Otherwise, in view of the abuses connected with private ownership it might make evangelical poverty universal by confiscating all material goods. Ac-

¹ As stated openly in the “United Kingdom Alliance” programme.

² In more than a fourth of the civil parishes of England and Wales in *rural districts*, no on-licences are issued. In urban districts the “dry” regions are much less common. Toxteth Park in Liverpool and Kennington Fields in London are the largest.

cordingly, although the benefits of strong drink are much smaller and fewer than is generally imagined, and although the numbers who abuse it are exceedingly great, to abolish it altogether, supposing the policy practicable, would not be morally justifiable. The Church has never officially supported Total Prohibition, and never will, until she be planted in the midst of a nation of habitual drunkards. In America, the land in which the experiment has been most extensively tried, the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, as already noted, at its foundation in 1872 refused to countenance the policy.

II. *Local Veto, or Local Option.*

When, however, prohibition takes the form of a voluntary system adopted by the people themselves or by any section of the people in their own locality, it becomes quite another matter. A community as a whole has a right to determine according to reason the material conditions under which it lives, provided always it does not unreasonably fetter the liberty of those that differ from it. To act arbitrarily in indifferent matters—to decide, for instance, that no one should wear green garments—would not carry the force of a law, for a law is essentially a reasonable regulation. But there is often reason enough to prohibit the use of alcoholic drinks, if not over the whole country, at least in particular localities. Advantage has been taken by several of its constituent States of the internal sovereignty accorded by the American constitution to each, to enact “no-licence” regulations within their borders, and thus to make the sale illegal; but the fact that up to 1913 they could not prohibit the importation of liquor has made the experiment largely nugatory. That their legislation is experimental and alternates violently in different localities between different systems, and that contradictory statements as to results have been constantly published on both sides,¹ makes the history of the question very complicated and uncertain. At present only nine out of the forty-eight states appear to be “dry,” but

¹ The Trade in the States is exceedingly strong and fights vigorously both in the State legislatures and municipal bodies, but generally with as much secrecy as possible.

owing to the extent of local veto, rural and urban, a vast area is now under prohibition. Statistics given by the *New York Times* (April 19, 1914) reveal the following striking facts:—

Out of the 2,973,890 square miles of the United States Territory 2,132,746 are under no-licence laws.

Out of the 91,972,966 inhabitants of the country, over 46,500,000 inhabit (legally) "dry" districts.

Prohibition, wholly operative in nine states and dominant in seventeen, has more or less of a foothold in all the rest.

Moreover, a Bill to amend the constitution so as to make prohibition statutory and national is already before Congress. If it obtains the necessary two-thirds vote in both houses it will be then voted on by the States. It will be certainly supported by twenty-seven; for ratification it will need thirty-six, and strenuous efforts will be made to secure the support of the requisite further nine.¹

Thus Prohibition is apparently gaining ground in the shape of Local Option. But its success is and must be precarious except where backed by a growing force of educated public opinion. In many localities only a bare majority is required for no-licence. This, in the circumstances, is mere tyranny resulting in worse conditions. If the prevention of excess is to be procured by legislative efforts and for natural motives, the law securing it must voice the reasoned convictions of substantially the whole community. Catholics, better than others, know that numbers do not make right.

As statistics regarding the States, so those regarding Local Option in New Zealand have been differently interpreted, but it seems fair to conclude from a parliamentary return of August, 1913, that whatever hardship in that country has been undergone by temperate persons who could not get strong drink, the gain to the community in the prevention of extravagance and the diminution of disorder and disease

¹ The Trade is naturally alarmed. The *National Liquor Dealers' Journal* (Sept. 10, 1913) openly confesses that they have brought it upon themselves by putting aside all considerations save those of profit. That reproach is applicable nearer home. It is significant that the employment of barmaids is prohibited all over the States, and that no reputable women frequent bars.

has more than counterbalanced it. The household drink bill (family of five, all ages) in 1912 was: *Licence areas*, £21 5s. 3d.; *No-licence areas*, £4 12s. 5d., and the corresponding household consumption was fifty-nine and nine gallons. The results in Canada resemble those in the United States.

The policy of Local Option is sure to be tried in this country sooner or later, unless indeed the drink trade presently reforms itself. The 1913 Temperance Act for Scotland embodies the policy, but its main provisions do not come into force till June 1, 1920. In 1908, a Bill passed the House of Commons which provided, amongst other reforms, for the recognition of the principle, but it was thrown out by the Lords. Its time will probably come again.

12. *No System successful.*

We have now reviewed the chief methods of legislating with regard to the Liquor Traffic, but so far we have not justified the heading of the chapter. The fact is, as has been hinted more than once, there is no solution of the problem to be found in mere legislation. Temperance reformers may be cheered by the fact that, owing to legislation, about half of the American people cannot enter a saloon: it is not so cheering to learn that many more than half of them do not enter a church.¹ Human nature cannot be reformed by compulsion; there are no more rigid teetotalers than the prisoners in our gaols, but they are not reckoned models of virtue. Moral motives alone can effectively remedy such a widespread moral disease. Natural prudence, personal distaste, mere pride even, and selfishness, may preserve an individual here and there from sensual excess, but, to leaven the mass of men, a moral appeal is necessary. And, for the Catholic, morality leans necessarily on religion. In the truths of his faith lie the most permanent and effectual reasons for refraining from all excess, and even from all use, in this particular matter, reasons which avail, whatever may be his personal relations to it.

¹ According to the *Statesman's Year-Book for 1914*, the Church-going members (or "communicants") of all denominations in the U.S.A., number 36,668,185. Allowing for "non-communicating" members the total will not reach half the population.

13. *Educate as well as Legislate.*

Consequently, concomitantly with the enlightened efforts of legislation must proceed the action of individuals banded together in associations with the object of keeping before the public mind both the character of the evil and the instant need of correcting it. More urgent still is the need of preventing it. Legislation can prevent the public drinking of the young: only the parent and the teacher can effectually inspire them with motives which will make legislation unnecessary. Temperance should be inculcated in schools, both as a most acceptable form of service to Almighty God and as a most practical way of serving one's country. In Ireland, children at their Confirmation generally take the pledge till the age of 21—a salutary practice worthy of imitation everywhere. The hopes of the future lie in the proper training of the young generations to-day. And so to them should temperance reformers turn. There the good seed, blessed both by religion and common sense, should be chiefly sown.

Meanwhile their general efforts to mould adult public opinion should not be omitted or slackened. Much has already been done. But for the labours of Temperance Societies, many hoary prejudices in regard to the benefit of strong drink would still be prevalent, and there would also be a prevailing ignorance regarding its noxious social effects. It is very easy for those who do not actually see those effects to ignore or forget their existence. The literature and other forms of propaganda employed by the advocates of temperance serve permanently to dispel that ignorance. And unless we have a keen sense of our social duty, we shall not realize, perhaps, how much our individual conduct can help or hinder the advance of others. Ordinarily speaking, such personal matters as the quality of our drink would have no civic reference, but the state of affairs we have to combat is not ordinary. We are trying to restore society to a normal habit, not alone in this but in many other ways, and to counteract long-standing evil tradition.

14. *The Function of the Total Abstainer.*

And, therefore, from those who really have this truth

brought home to them more than ordinary efforts are demanded. "All things may be lawful" to them in the matter, so firmly grounded are they in habits of strict moderation but certainly, in view of the present state of society, "not all things are expedient." The drinking-habits which so easily lead to excess are, like other social customs, largely a matter of example.¹ No one naturally takes to strong drink: if others did not teach them or give them opportunity, few would take the trouble to learn. People drink, especially young people, because everybody drinks, because the abstainer is singular, so singular that his conduct calls for explanation. Temperance societies have at least the effect of weakening the force of that argument. But for such reformers, Heaven knows to what depth of degradation the drinking habits of our ancestors would have brought us. The social worker who would add to his or her efficiency as an instrument for raising the moral tone of the community will find the principle of total abstinence an invaluable aid. Until the habits and prejudices of generations have been altered, until public opinion in this regard has become not merely rational but Christian, the solution of the Drink Question lies in the hands of resolute men and women, inspired by love of God and of their neighbour, and united in associations pledged to take all lawful means to overthrow the tyranny of drink by example, by instruction, by legislation, and by prayer.

¹ The fact that the habit of drinking to inebriation, once so common amongst the upper and middle classes in this country, has become practically obsolete is the best answer to those who think that social or racial customs are necessarily ineradicable. Custom is driven out by custom, there is room for the race to grow, and a habit which science and religion alike condemn should be the more easily overthrown.

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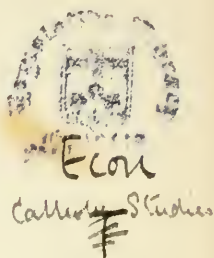
- The Discipline of Drink* (1879): Bridgett.
- Our National Vice* (1886): Manning.
- The Pioneer Temperance Catechism* (1911): Cullen.
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- The Alliance Year-Books* and other publications.
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- The Licensed Trade*: Pratt.
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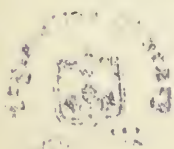


VIII.
CHRISTIAN
FEMINISM

A CHARTER OF RIGHTS
AND DUTIES

BY
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INTRODUCTION

THIS little book has been put together in the hope that it will help the spread of study circles among women, by offering a basis for thought and indicating lines of investigation.

Progress, in contradistinction to mere change, is not so much an onward as an upward movement. Any solid work in an upward direction presupposes for its stability a sure foundation; hence all social construction which is to be really progressive must be based upon the unchanging moral law.

Women are naturally attracted most by those social questions which more directly concern themselves and touch their lives, and they rightly feel that they themselves should take an active part in shaping the conditions of the future.

Now it is precisely in connexion with the subjects grouped under the term "Feminism" that the moral law is apt to be obscured, ignored, or denied. For this reason an attempt is here made to give some simple and clear definitions. It is quite necessary for the Catholic student to master these at the outset.

The attitude of any ordinary Catholic towards an exact definition is quite different from that of an average non-Catholic. The average non-Catholic in this country, even if a Christian, has drifted a long way from the clear and logical thought embodied in the mature traditional philosophy of the Church. He is suspicious of exactness, thinking it to be a condition of thin and outworn thought, and hugs the belief that vagueness of conception and looseness of expression cover vastness and profundity. For

this attitude something may be said, for after all no other is to be expected of the man who looks at things from a purely natural point of view, more particularly if he is honest and humble and does not wish to claim more knowledge than he possesses. He suspects definiteness as savouring of presumption. The Protestant, too, with his reverence for private judgment naturally dislikes authoritative statements.

Now, just as there are objects outside the range of the unaided human vision, so there are objects in the eternal sphere outside the range of vision of the unaided soul. And just as human sight needs supplementing, so the soul needs the assistance of some principle of elevation. This principle of elevation, according to Catholic teaching, is Grace. The impatience of the average mind, when in contact with the clear definition of spiritual things which it cannot itself discern unaided, has its parallel in the indignation of the man of insensitive vision in the presence of an artist's rendering of a familiar scene. He sees in the picture precise and subtle colours which he has never observed in nature, and he concludes that the artist has invented or wilfully exaggerated. In proclaiming that they do not exist in fact, he is conscious of feeling morally superior to the artist in regard to mere veracity. Hence the popularity among non-Catholics of that vague and foggy thought on spiritual matters which actually embodies what appears to lie at the frontier of unaided human vision. Sincere minds feel bound to proclaim that what lies beyond this frontier cannot be exactly defined. The Catholic believes that Grace extends the sphere of the soul's vision, and that this vision penetrates further in the measure of the abundance of the Grace bestowed.

The Church, Spouse of the guiding Spirit, custodian of Revelation and of the Treasury of Grace, has come to possess through the penetrating discernment of her grace-illuminated children, a number of exact definitions on spiritual matters unattainable outside her borders.

Every Catholic knows this, and in matters of religion he recognizes both authority and the existence and function

of the expert in the exposition of that authority's enactments.

In matters not strictly religious, however, many Catholics are affected by the modern attitude of independence. This is apt to be more particularly the case with untrained minds of an energetic cast. To such minds there is a certain amount of discouragement in finding so many unprovable principles definitely settled. These axioms they have accepted as of faith, without unfortunately exercising their minds over the reasoning upon which they are based. Their unused mental powers call for exercise.

Such people welcome a purely secular movement as an opportunity for letting loose their thinking energies in an untrammelled way. They are often heard to say with evident satisfaction, that such and such a question has nothing to do with religion, whereas ultimately everything has to do with religion and every question sends some root down till it touches a moral law. By distinguishing in this manual between divine law, which is unalterable, and human laws, habits, conventions and prejudices, all of which latter offer a legitimate field for change and development, it is hoped to stimulate sound constructive thought as a basis of sound action among Catholic women. To arouse such thought seems urgently worth while if social reconstruction is to be founded on Christian principles.

In this manual only those subjects are touched on which concern the normal life of normal women. It is hoped at some future date to treat of matters which concern the abnormal, and of those complex moral problems with which the adult social worker is often faced.

CHRISTIAN FEMINISM

CHAPTER I

PRINCIPLES

1. SEX OF THE SOUL.¹

UNEMBODIED spirits are without sex.

The activities of spirits are conditioned by the bodies to which they are united.

There is capacity in the spirit, apart from the body, for energizing the physical faculties of either sex.

These conditions of activity during the spirit's union with the body (its soul-life) are the cause of the different manifestation of the spirit in man and in woman with which we are familiar.

The spiritual human soul, while remaining itself sexless, has the capacity of manifesting all those relative varieties of function, intellectual, imaginative, emotional, which we are accustomed to associate with the two sexes in the human race.

2. INDEPENDENCE OF PERSONALITY.

The human soul, as the higher and elevating element of our dual nature, produces personality, and personality means essentially independence. No one can lawfully merge his personality in the person of another. Therefore a personality, or an independent person, is always ultimately responsible for his own actions.

Consequently a woman has an inalienable right to all that makes up her personality, including the free exercise of her religion as part of her spiritual existence.

¹ *The Human Soul.* Dom Anscar Vonier, O.S.B. Herder.

3. DESTINY.

Woman's destiny, like man's, is Eternal Life.

4. LIBERTY,

Which is only possible to beings gifted with reason, and free-will, is possessed by men and women equally.

Liberty is the power to exercise an act of choice, or to withhold it, subject to the control of reason. It is the most essential note of our human nature. Human acts being guided by motives are correct or distorted according as the motive is correct or distorted. Hence acts wholly uncontrolled by reason are simply animal and not human acts. Human acts, acts in accordance with right reason, are alone *morally free*.

For freedom or liberty may mean several things. It may denote the absence of physical restraint (a discharged prisoner or a horse in a paddock is free in this sense). It may signify political immunity from vexatious laws (as when we say that every Englishman is a free man). But the highest form of liberty, viz. moral liberty, is the power to develop unhindered one's personality to the highest degree, to make one's way unchecked to union with God, to repress the animal tendencies that would keep us from Him. The obstacles to this moral freedom are *inward*. Such liberty is not an inheritance; it has to be painfully acquired by the individual, aided by Grace.

The will has liberty to choose evil in this sense, that it may choose a course which appears to be good for itself because gratifying to itself at the moment, but which in reality is the road to ruin. The light afforded by human reason is dim and circumscribed; thus, without further guidance than that given by reason and without infused strength, a woman may, without deliberately intending to injure herself, choose for herself something which has the appearance of immediate good, but which will in reality lead to her destruction and hinder her from fulfilling her destiny.

The will being always influenced by some intellectually apprehended motive, even one which is distorted or unsound, does not deliberately choose evil, but only what

has at least the appearance of good. It can however choose what will lead to ruin, and can be guilty of rejecting the means which are provided for enlightening and guiding reason. Guidance is provided in the Eternal Laws of God, which are recognized as authoritative by reason, and are dictated practically by a properly educated conscience.

Strength to carry out the dictates of reason is imparted by ¹ Grace which is the free gift of God, and which not only enlightens the intellect to perceive, but braces the will to choose moral good.

Thus by Grace the imperfect human faculties of reason and free-will are supplemented, so that their actions, while remaining truly human, are raised to the supernatural plane.

The teaching of Divine laws and the imparting of Grace is the work of Religion, God acting through the Church He has founded.

5. ONE MORAL LAW FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

From the fact that the human soul is a moral entity essentially the same whether it energizes a male or a female body, it follows that in either case it is subject to the same moral law.

But although there is one moral law, the entity composed of sexless spirit and sexed body may be so profoundly different according as that body is male or female, that the difficulty of obeying a given law in the complex code of Christian morality may be greater in the one case than the other. Thus the proportion of guilt in disobedience can be adequately known only to the omniscient God. The most penetrating of human judges is hindered in his estimate by the essential limitations of human knowledge. Therefore the verdicts of a human tribunal may often differ from those of the Divine Tribunal. Only occasionally do we see what appear to be deviations from even justice (deviations in the direction of leniency) in the administration of human law. These seeming illegalities have in reality their source in equity, being an attempt to do justice

¹ *The Greek Testament*, pp. 6-8. Martindale, C.T.S., 1d.

by the verdict both to society outraged by crime and to the individual labouring under some exceptional handicap. This tendency is more often found in Continental countries than in our own.

If, on the one hand, we see in Courts of Law efforts to harmonize Divine and human justice, why on the other do we often find such unequal justice in *social* life in the matter of the same sin committed by a man or a woman, an inequality which bears hardly on the woman?

Because though the same sin, whether committed by a man or by a woman, may involve equal guilt before God it yet may have unequal social consequences according to the sex of the sinner. Even where the moral guilt is less the social injury may be greater. Mankind looks mainly to social consequences. *Human* laws must take into account these consequences of sin, for their aim is the welfare and protection of the social body as a whole.

6. CELIBACY.

A woman is as free as a man is to determine her state of life. Therefore the Christian woman can choose celibacy as a state, celibacy having been a distinctly Christian ideal from the earliest times.

Voluntary Christian celibacy, the deliberate choice of the single state from a supernatural motive, is neither negative nor sterile, but spiritually fruitful. It must not be confused with the involuntary single state to which so many women are relegated in modern life by accidental conditions.

7. MARRIAGE

Consists in the substantially free consent of the two contracting parties. Among Catholics marriage is not only a contract, but also a sacrament, and as such is under the control of the Church. Marriage viewed purely as a contract is subject as regards civil effects to civil law.

The ministers of the sacrament of matrimony are the two contracting parties, the priest being only the Church's official witness. The matrimonial rights and obligations

of the two contracting parties are identically equal. Nevertheless in every organized society (and the family is an organized society), there must be an official head. The material duties and responsibilities of the man point him out as the official head, though in reality he is in legal language only *primus inter pares* (the foremost among equals).

The jurisdiction over the wife and the family given to man is a trust of the gravest. It is a strictly limited and constitutional jurisdiction, conferred, as in the case of all legitimate authority, for the good of those subject to it. It is in no sense an arbitrary or autocratic dominion, but one circumscribed by inflexible laws.

The same moral code which defines man's conduct towards woman has its equally binding enactments concerning woman's conduct to man; on reciprocal fidelity to these laws rests the stability and happiness of the whole social fabric.

It has been frequently asserted that the word "obey," inserted into the Anglican marriage service by the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, was an innovation. This statement has been readily accepted, since the word does not appear in the Catholic marriage ritual which is in present use in this country. Recent researches,¹ however, make it clear that it did figure in certain Catholic rituals, that of Sarum for instance, and that where the word is not present the whole tenour of the service implies a certain measure of obedience in temporal matters.

But if the Reformers are not responsible for the introduction of the word, the result of their labours in the religious sphere generally gave to it a totally new significance. Because, in the non-recognition of clear and binding moral enactments regulating the married relationship, obedience on the part of a woman means her subjection to a husband's private judgments and rulings in these matters, a state

¹ *On the Retention of the Word "Obey" in the Marriage Service of the Book of Common Prayer.* J. Wickham Legg, D.Lit. Wells, Gardner & Co. *The Bride's Marriage Vow*, Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., *Tablet*, August 7, 1915.

of things which may constitute a breach of her moral liberty.

In a Catholic marriage on the other hand, a woman is not at the mercy of a man's errors of judgment in the *moral sphere*, even if he should be tyrannously disposed in temporal matters.

Marriage, being by Divine enactment a permanent state, is dissoluble only by death.

8. SEPARATION

Of married people, such separation in no way implying dissolution of the bond of matrimony, evidently may be at times advisable or even necessary.

Such separation with the annexed obligation of leading a single life may have inconveniences and even hardships. These have to be balanced against the flagrant evils which follow in the train of divorce.

In balancing the two sets of evils as they affect society at large, wide experience has proved that in insisting upon the indissolubility of the contract the resulting hardships are distinctly of less consequence than the destructive effects on social life which follow divorce.

At times for legal reasons, as for instance in order to safeguard inheritance, it may be lawful and even necessary to seek at law the annulment of the civil effects of the marriage contract. But a "divorce" of this nature in no way affects the sacramental bond, which remains indissoluble. Therefore no second marriage can be effected by either party in the lifetime of the other.

9. THE NATURAL END OF MARRIAGE ¹

Is the continuation of the human race. Christian parents are not permitted to limit the number of their children by artificial means. They can only lawfully arrive at this end by mutually agreeing to live matrimonially apart.

The marriage contract presupposes that the contracting

¹ See *Duties of Conjugal Life*. By Cardinal Mercier, C.T.S., 1d. *The Church and Eugenics*. By the Rev. T. Gerrard (Catholic Social Guild, 6d.).

parties have arrived at years of discretion and therefore have attained some measure of self-control and self-government. It is a modern error to attribute to the unity and indissolubility of marriage an unhappiness which has its origin in a false conception of life and a total lack of moral training in earlier years—in fact, to a moral equipment so unsound that it might ensure misery in any state of life.

10. SELF-SACRIFICE AND LIBERTY.

A life of self-sacrifice dedicated to the service of others for God's sake, is regarded by some non-Christians of to-day as one of immoral servitude and an infringement of personal liberty.

Such a view proceeds from a wholly laudable desire for freedom and self-realization distorted by a muddled conception of the ideas of "self" and "liberty" (see p. 10).

Before we can say whether self-sacrifice is morally good or bad, we must first inquire what is the "self" which is sacrificed and, moreover, what is the *other* "self" *for which it is sacrificed*.

Self-sacrifice, self-suppression, mortification, *considered in themselves* have no moral value whatever. If I aimlessly throw my last half-crown down a drain I do a foolish thing. If I give it to a hospital fund merely for the pleasure of seeing my name in the paper, my act is of no moral value. If I give it to a destitute beggar for the love of Christ, I am sacrificing the lower to the higher, exchanging the good for the better, and my act has a moral value. There is no taint of slavery about it.

Now the Catholic Church maintains as stoutly as the most rebellious Feminist can desire, that what is highest and best in the individual may never under any circumstances be sacrificed—whether to the State or to friendship or to anything else. To sacrifice it would be a sin and a kind of moral suicide. God wills the highest moral perfection and the completest development and happiness of His rational creatures.

On the other hand, the lower self must, unless we wish

to degenerate into bestiality and slavery, be sacrificed or at least subordinated to the higher. The soldier who, in a good cause, sacrifices his life on behalf of his country, is no slave. Neither is the woman who neglects her own ease or the exercise of artistic or literary gifts to nurse the sick or help the poor for love of Christ. Some Sisters of Charity might have shone as pianists or novelists. Human activities cannot be exercised in all directions at once. It is a question of relative values. The martyr surrenders a good thing for a better. The hermit shuns the company of men to enjoy that of God. St. Francis renounces fair raiment because his Lady Poverty is fairer still.

Many fail to understand that Christian self-sacrifice is not a negative and barren thing. It is not mere giving up, but giving up as the condition of getting something better.

Can it seriously be maintained that all experiences are equally valuable, and that every unrestrained manifestation of "self" tends to liberty? Is a man in a raging temper more free than a man who, with the same impulses, controls his temper? If so, we must seek our ideals of humanity in prisons and lunatic asylums.

Even in the natural order sacrifice is the law of self-expression and self-realization. It is a condition of art. It is actually a condition of life. It finds the mean between a fanatical altruism and a selfish hedonism. This much even thoughtful pagans recognized.

The Catholic Church adopts this teaching of the best pre-Christian thought and clarifies it, giving it a deeper meaning and a wider application. She is an expert in values and an experienced judge of human nature. She stands for liberty as she stands for order, since both are needed for true human development. She alone can reduce our conflicting impulses to harmony, and develop to its fullest extent every human aspiration. And it is in order that men may be truly free as well as supremely happy that she urges them to walk along "the Royal Road of the Holy Cross."

11. THE CHURCH ACCUSED OF BEING REPRESSIVE IN HER ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN.

It has frequently been urged by the Revolutionary type of Feminist that the Church's attitude towards women has been repressive and contemptuous. Although Her attitude does not, strictly speaking, constitute a principle, it is as well to say a word upon it here. These charges are based upon extracts from the writings of some early Fathers, isolated from their context, inaccurately translated and judged without sufficient knowledge of contemporary history or of the kind of woman against which they were mostly aimed—namely, pagan women, the declared enemies of the new Christian virtue of chastity.

That the Church's attitude is the contrary of repressive is easily established by authenticated facts—women are canonized as Saints, are accepted as Doctors of Mystical Theology, installed as rulers over large communities, in some cases (such as in that of St. Hilda) over men. They have been encouraged to undertake the highest studies, and have filled professorial chairs in Papal Universities. It would be an easy matter to cite the names of Catholic women eminent for learning and distinguished in the arts, who were illustrious for their virtue and were faithful daughters of the Church. Indeed, it might be difficult to find women in modern times outside the Church of the same intellectual and moral stature.

At the so-called Reformation women were deprived of all existing means of Education, for which, until very recent times, nothing was substituted.

With the dishonour of the ideal of celibacy and the materialized view of marriage consequent upon it, women fell in the scale of freedom and consequently of dignity.

CHAPTER II

LAW AND ITS LIMITATIONS

1. SOURCE OF HUMAN LAWS.

HAVING considered moral principles, which are immutable, we can turn our attention to human laws, which in so far as they are not mere applications of the divine, are eminently mutable. But before considering some of these in detail it will be helpful to take a broad survey of the subject, more especially since those least well informed as to the nature and origin of laws are apt to cherish exaggerated notions of the power of law as a moral lever.

Roughly speaking, laws or codes of law considered according to their source may be divided into two groups:—those which have been framed by individuals endowed with autocratic power and a genius for government and imposed upon a people lacking the liberty to criticize; and those which spring from the corporate wisdom of a popularly elected assembly. It is laws of popular origin with which we are mainly concerned.

Laws of either origin, as history shows, may be so excellent that their permanent repeal is morally impossible, although in times of Revolution they may have been suspended.¹ Again, laws of either origin may be the outcome of passing passion, panic or prejudice, destined sooner or later to be repealed or to become obsolete on the Statute Book.²

2. PUBLIC OPINION AND LAW MAKING.

We are proposing to study social conditions as they affect women's person, property and labour, and we cannot

¹ The right to trial.

² Laws against witchcraft. Penal laws against Catholics.

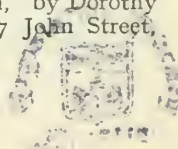
do this without studying the legislation which deals with the subject. This legislation, though some of it may be rooted in bygone forms of government, has for the past three hundred years been increasingly popular in origin, and since the Reform Act of 1832 may be said to be almost entirely so. Laws from this source reflect, not the advanced ideas of a period, nor the conceptions of master minds, but at the most the average thought level of the day. They are in fact the outcome of public opinion, in advance of which very little can be effected. But if public opinion be on the one hand the master, it is on the other merely a pupil capable of being educated. In this lies the real incentive for spreading a wide interest in social questions. The mental attitude of each one of us is either helping to change public opinion or to fix it in its present condition. Although in this country women have no direct share in framing laws they have of recent years played a really important part in shaping opinion. The Women's Industrial Council has, for instance, since 1894 conducted researches into the conditions of women's labour which, by providing a fund of accurate information, have directly influenced legislation.¹

3. THE GROWTH OF MATERIAL FREEDOM AND MORAL LIBERTY.

Notwithstanding sundry stains upon its pages, the history of legislation in this country is in the main the history of the growth of the security of the community based on the security of the individual.

It is the history of the growth of material freedom, that is of immunity from violence and exaction, but in the case of women it is not equally the history of moral and spiritual liberty. Let us take an illustration. In the early middle ages a woman might have to go to church under escort for the sake of bodily security, but her freedom to practise religion was never questioned nor her personal responsibility towards God in the matter denied as a principle, by husband or guardian. In modern times when her person is in no

¹ "Women's Share in Recent Industrial Legislation," by Dorothy Haynes. *Women's Industrial News*, January, 1915. 7 John Street, Adelphi, London.



danger, she may have considerable difficulty in practising any religion at all, if her so doing is not agreeable to her husband. And why? Because among the truths which dropped out as a consequence of the Reformation was that of woman being a spiritual independent entity in the sense in which it is defined in the preceding "principles." With the multiplication of sects a choice of religion was offered; controversy entered family life, and the husband having become confirmed in the erroneous belief that his wish was law for his wife in the moral sphere, readily constituted himself arbiter of truth and sole judge in the matter of religious belief.¹ It is true that in English law a woman, equally with a man, is now free to practise what religion she pleases, but a large section of public opinion, still rooted in a false principle, views with leniency any measures which a husband or father may take to enforce his wishes upon a wife or daughter in despite of this legal liberty.

4. THE MORAL LIBERTY OF WOMEN.

Moral liberty concerns the spiritual, that is the highest life, but woman's position in this sphere affects her position in all others, is indeed their only reasonable and therefore sure foundation.

We approach our studies as Catholics, tenacious of the moral liberty which the Church has secured to women, interested in tracing the action of this principle in social life in the past, bent upon seeking its application in the present.

We know quite well that the Church has not at any time and does not now occupy herself directly with civil laws or with defining woman's share in social or civic life. The Christian religion works through the hearts and minds of individuals, and through these permeates human society very gradually. Even moral principles, backed by all her authority though they be, can only prevail by the conquest

¹ In 1670 by a Statute 22 Ch. ii. c. 2 (sec. 15) it is decreed that if a woman is convicted of being at an unlawful conventicle the penalty is to fall on the husband, thus recognizing the husband's responsibility for the wife's religious practice.

of individual minds. But believing as we do, that the religion of Christ is the Divine rule for human life and must therefore meet the needs of divinely created human beings as nothing else can, we believe it follows that a "Feminism" capable of developing and satisfying the entire nature of woman must be based on Christian principles. We do not imagine that there is anything new to discover about woman, only much to be developed.

5. IS IDENTITY OF LEGISLATION FOR MEN AND WOMEN DESIRABLE ?

But why, it may be asked, since woman is man's moral and spiritual equal, must we separate her case at all from his, why for instance do we require to make a special study of her share in industrial life? Surely her case does of itself demand distinct treatment so far as this world is concerned. There are peculiarities in regard to woman which distinguish her needs from those of man, in domestic and in civil life and in economic law. There are the interests of her special temperament, and hence of her personality, to be reconciled with the interests of the race in her person. Both interests ultimately meet of themselves, but this fact may easily escape the superficial thinker.

Hence identity of legislation for men and women by no means implies equality of justice, a truth which is becoming more and more apparent to the student of women's interests in industrial life. One thing however stands out clearly enough. At no period since Christianity began to influence society has there been anything approaching a planned oppression of woman on the part of man such as obtains in polygamous states. Social forces which we are reduced to calling blind, because we can neither foresee the lines of their operations nor control them nor understand them, except sometimes in retrospect, are on the other hand continually producing conditions which come as a surprise equally to those who suffer from or benefit by them. The restoration of justice can be achieved only when a spiritual conception of life gains the ascendancy and controls those forces.

All this is familiar but also vague. Can we sum up in one sentence the principle upon which as Catholics we take our stand, and which we cannot under any circumstances concede? I think we can. While in the moral sphere woman is the equal of man and her position identical with his, in the physical sphere her case is separate, and the only way in which justice can be done her is so to arrange the conditions of her physical life as to leave her moral freedom intact.

If we base our studies upon this solid foundation I believe we shall find that they will develop soundly and we shall avoid drifting off into vague speculation.

The Church had no easy part to play in striving for this principle with a world which in primitive civilizations insisted exclusively on regarding woman from the side of her physical value to the race, and as civilization developed, conceded her merely an æsthetic value in addition. Christian teaching fully recognizes woman's physical value, but strives to raise the conditions of this side of life to a level compatible with her dignity as a moral independent entity. Occasionally the law is eloquent of the struggle between Church and State in the matter of women's position. Thus in 1344 the English House of Commons complains that the Church allows married women to make wills, "which is against reason"; the King wishes that law and reason should be maintained. (Parl. Rolls, ii, pp. 149-50.)

Startling statements are often made about woman's status in pre-Christian societies by a school of writers bent on proving that the Church has done very little, and that that little has been bad. A scholarly treatment of this subject will be found in a tersely written little pamphlet, *What Christianity has done for Woman*.¹

6. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH IN ANGLO-SAXON DAYS.

If we turn to the history of our own race, we find great stress laid by Feminist writers upon the high status

¹ *What Christianity has done for Woman*, by Gabriel d'Azambuja, translated by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.

enjoyed by woman in Anglo-Saxon days, a status which appears to have been derived from her physical virility and her ability in law to inherit land which was then the basis of power and influence. She not only possessed it but she defended it either in her own right or as a wife in the many absences of her husband. She also had some share in the primitive government of the time. She was, in fact, a working partner with man when social conditions made it to the general advantage that she should be so. But a status based merely on material conditions inevitably passes with those conditions. Her position at this period was not the outcome of any philosophical principle of justice held by our forefathers. It came to her because she was a landholder when in the interest of the power and influence of the family group it was desirable that she should be so,

It is in another quarter we must seek for the influence which accorded her a status containing the elements of permanence.

The state of law in Anglo-Saxon times was chaotic, but such formation as the old "Germanic" codes possessed had developed in the midst of the traditions of the Old World, many of which had been absorbed in the Christian code. Therefore, if laws were then few and simple in form, they were already complex in origin.

S. Augustine came to England in 597, to the land where women were virile and influential. He must have brought with him the knowledge of Roman law as it had emerged from the hands of the Christian Emperors, notably from those of Justinian, to whom women owed so great a gain in independence.

To mention only a few of the reforms which Justinian introduced into the old Roman law will give us some idea of the extent of this debt. All differences between men and women in the law of succession were abolished; mothers and grandmothers were appointed guardians of children. It was a capital crime to carry off or offer violence to a nun, the legal disabilities on celibacy and childlessness were abolished, due provision was made for a wife, and facilities were granted for entering the religious life.

7. WOMAN'S RIGHT TO REFUSE MARRIAGE.

The right to own land the Anglo-Saxon woman already possessed, but in the granting of facilities to enter religious life and in the safeguarding of the person of the nun we have liberty based on a new principle, and far-reaching in its consequences. What exactly did this mean in those early days? It meant that a woman could refuse marriage at a time when marriages were arranged for her almost entirely with a view to the interests of the family group, either for purposes of defence or aggression, or for political reasons of a wider reach. She was free to decide upon a career independent of the family, dedicated directly to God and devoted to the civilizing arts and the pursuit of knowledge. The early monastery combined the functions of a school of prayer, a college for higher studies, and a school of varied arts and crafts and of agriculture. At a time when marriage (in the determining of which love, as we understand it, played little or no part) was the universal rule, and numerous children a direct means of increasing the power of a family, this freedom to enter a monastery was a startling object lesson in the new Christian teaching of woman's moral independence. Many an Anglo-Saxon great lady entered monastic life, accustomed to wield authority and enforce her will by violence if need be. In entering the convent she passed under Christian discipline and learned to exercise moral authority.¹

8. INFLUENCE OF THE MONASTIC LIFE ON MARRIAGE.

The monastic life reacted favourably on marriage. If the married state was to hold its own against the attraction of the cloister it too must be brought under the civilizing influence of the Church, and the rough and half-tamed husband, inclined to be a law to himself and to enforce his will by violence, must submit to the laws of the Church which regulated marriage. Naturally when an alternative

¹ We have the virile Anglo-Saxon woman christianized in the person of St. Hilda, who in 657 founded her double monastery at Whitby, renowned throughout Christian England, in which, during her lifetime, five future Bishops were students at one time.

life was thus opened to women they were in a position to demand to be chosen in marriage as individuals rather than as members of a sex or at best of a family. Proof of some personal preference if not of affection must now be given by a suitor if the prospect of a life passed as his wife was to appear desirable. For we must not suppose those early communities to have been filled only with those who received " vocations " in the stricter sense as we understand them to-day.

In Anglo-Saxon times the person of a woman was under the protection of a guardian or over-lord until her marriage. As a widow she could still claim the protection of an over-lord, but enjoyed the liberty of refusing a second marriage. The nun was under the protection of Canon Law in those early days the single woman obliged to defend her own interests did not exist.

9. THE CHURCH AND THE WOMAN TRADER.

As social life developed towns sprang up, and an urban population came into existence composed of merchants and artisans who speedily won for themselves a power and influence equal to that of the landowner. In this new world we find the Church's principles at work anew. She sought to regulate the conditions of labour and commerce in accordance with Christian ethics and achieved this by means of teaching from the pulpit and in the confessional, by rulings in the ecclesiastical courts, and more particularly through the powerful guilds in which the interests of all were safeguarded, and no one questioned that in principle it was the duty of the strong to help the weak, or that remuneration for labour should be sufficient to support life decently. Women who traded in their own right were included in many of these guilds and there is evidence that in some at any rate they voted at the elections of guild officers.¹ We are not to suppose that the Church's task was easy, human nature when unrestrained is ever in favour of the law of might. There was man always ready to convert his headship into a domin-

¹ *English Gilds*, by Toulmin Smith; and *History of Guilds and Origin of Trade Unions*, L. Brentano.

ation, there were the rough conditions of the time which necessitated a certain seclusion of woman in the interests of her moral liberty but, notwithstanding this, her right to trade on equal terms was conceded.¹ Right up to the 'Reformation' the Church held a watching brief to see justice done, on the principle that the conditions of labour should be such as to support a decent life, albeit on frugal lines.

10. EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION ON WOMAN.

And then came the "Reformation" with the enthronement of the Religion of Individualism. The cloister and all the liberty it stood for were abolished; marriage was declared to be no longer a sacrament, at most a symbol with a blessing attached, at least a civil contract, and as such dissoluble by the State. An era of "blind forces" was ushered in, and woman proved to be very much at their mercy. The Reformers aimed no blow at her intentionally, they probably imagined, in so far as they gave her case any special attention at all, that with the destruction of the ideal of virginity and of sacramental marriage she would enjoy an increased natural happiness. A good deal was said about married unhappiness caused by the intrusion of a priest between man and wife: but the real quarrel was with the intrusion of the Church's restraining laws. The new individualism simply handed married women over to the mercy of a husband's private judgment and prejudices in the region of ethics. The "Reformed" Church never claimed any teaching authority on this subject, and to-day is utterly powerless to exercise any. The real nature of the promised freedom and happiness we can now see in retrospect, and it is generally agreed that the spectacle is a dismal one.

11. SHE IS DEPRIVED OF THE MEANS OF EDUCATION.

We find a total absence of any provision for education to replace that which had been given in convents, neither was

¹ *The Status of Women under the English Law*, by A. Beatrice Wallis Chapman, D.Sc. (Econ.), and Mary Wallis Chapman, B.A.

any training provided for any sphere of private or public usefulness. The Religion of Individualism bred a political philosophy of Individualism, a reign of self-interest in commerce, of unrestrained competition in wages. A state of things grew up so divorced from Christian ethics, so apparently uncontrollable, that economists began to build up a theory of iron laws, and the belief spread generally that Religion and social forces worked upon different planes.¹ It was held that if self-interest and selfishness procured the good of an individual, then the good of the State must follow.

12. THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY DISASTROUS TO HER INTERESTS.

From the end of the eighteenth to the latter part of the nineteenth century the classical English political economy which embodied this creed held the field, and to doubt it was heresy. Neither in professional life nor in commerce was there any room for woman, even if she could have secured for herself the education necessary for success. Into industrial life alone she entered as an unskilled worker under the most abject and inhuman conditions. Life for women in the well-to-do classes meant segregation in a home which under the new thought-conditions was often a very dull little kingdom under despotic rule, in which there was no room for her personality.

The fact that thought concerning women rapidly fell into feebleness, veneered either with sentimentality or with coarseness, shows forcibly how great had been the elevating power of that Catholic conception of woman which the Reformation destroyed.

13. THE BIRTH OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.

Christian principles had been lost, material progress went on its way, wealth and luxury increased, but something

¹ *The Social Sense : Its Decay and Its Revival*, by Alexander P. Mooney, M.D., 1d. *English Economics and Catholic Ethics*, by Rev. Michael Maher, S.J., D.Litt., 1d. Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.

was wrong at the heart of civilization, and out of that wrong as it affected women modern Feminism has been born, born of a sense of emptiness, of loss, of injustice. In the early half of the last century that battle for education was begun which was fought so strenuously for some thirty years, doors were forced open, and the movement grew with the oncoming strength of a rising tide. On the ethical side it was a vague movement not knowing its goal or which road to take. In a measure it appeared as a revolt against Protestantism, which with some justice was represented as subjugating women. At the heart of the movement lay an instinctive desire to recover a lost inheritance. The claim appears sometimes in an ugly egotistical dress. When Ibsen's "Doll's House" was first played in London the public mind was scandalized. The plea for self-development which it contained appeared to be a challenge to the domestic gods and thus to the whole fabric of society. The play *was* a herald of revolt but it was also a cry for life and health.

The problem of modern Feminism, with all its aspirations, aberrations, heroisms and follies, is one to which Catholics possess a solution and to which they should therefore bring sympathetic understanding and help. For the claim to moral independence if divorced from obedience to Christian ethics, is one charged with disaster to the individual and to the State. It is then merely an intense form of Individualism. The same Church which proclaimed the moral responsibility of woman also laid down her duties and obligations to God. This Christian independence is part of a whole ethical fabric; one part cannot be detached from the whole and retain its beneficent character.

14. WOMAN'S POLITICAL CLAIM—A MORAL INFLUENCE MUST DIRECT THE USE OF POWER.

And now we must touch on woman's political claim which has been advanced since 1847, and which has come to absorb public attention so entirely as almost to exclude the deeper moral aspects of the Feminist movement. Some falsely assume that these deeper questions can be

ignored in the present and summarily dealt with in the future by means of political power when once this is won. The political claim is one for a direct share in the making of laws by means of the vote. As laws are in this country popular in origin and the concern of the average citizen, it is certainly logical that, in proportion as women become educated in civic life and have a stake in the industrial state over and above their abiding interest in the laws affecting their personal security, they should enjoy a direct share in the direct framing of laws which directly affect them. In a democracy which recognizes the *right* of the people to frame their own laws, it is surely a *just* claim and therefore *moral*; unless it can be shown that there is some reason intrinsic or extrinsic why women should not vote. But since the Church has not pronounced on the matter one way or another, this claim is recognized by Catholics as one which belongs to the realm of private opinion. There is nothing in the claim which transcends the limits of moral liberty, or is detrimental to woman's physical welfare. Catholics need to be very clear on this point, because an almost incredible confusion of thought has arisen around the subject outside the Church. We hear the suffrage spoken of as a "moral lever"; of this movement for enfranchisement as a moral and a religious one. We hear it alternately urged that woman must have the vote because her influence is always for good, and again, that she must have it because she is entitled to it in justice as a citizen who pays rates and taxes without reference to sex, and that how she exercises it is no one's business but her own. This last is the only logical basis upon which to demand political rights. The civil authority has the power to take away the right for due cause, but it has no power to determine to what ends it shall be exercised. The influence which controls the use of power is a moral one and belongs to Religion. The power might be granted by a materialistic government, and the prevailing feminine opinion might be in favour of licence. To the Catholic the question of political rights must always remain on its own proper plane.

In treating the question as a purely academic one, it

is evident that a State which accepted Christian principles but in which the franchise was not a factor in the government, might give a position to women perfectly in accord with justice and moral liberty. Viewed practically, however, the question presents itself thus. In a State in which the suffrage is accepted as the sign of citizenship for the vast majority of its men, the exclusion of women is tantamount to a declaration that she is not fitted for the performance of the same civic and national functions as man performs.

Round this question of identity of or distinction of social function of the sexes, the controversy rages. The subject is all the more complicated because it cannot be discussed on a clean slate. The question of rights came on to the scene as a philosophic one after the obligations of citizenship in the shape of taxes had already been placed upon the shoulders of women, automatically as it were and without any discussion of principle. Happily the Catholic woman, being in full possession of her inheritance of moral and spiritual liberty, is unlikely when engaged in zealous work for this or that political end to lose her power of discriminating among the values of the question, and so to lose her mental balance. In the eyes of Catholics the moral law is so indispensable a foundation and so sacred a possession that any act contrary to it in order to gain a political end, even if that end is in accordance with justice, is indefensible.

Surely the key to the phenomenon of militancy with which we have been made painfully familiar in connexion with the woman's movement is that, in the confusion of thought which prevails, the whole question of woman's moral status has become hopelessly entangled in the non-Catholic mind with that of her claim to the suffrage.

15. A GREAT STEP FORWARD.

But the greatest step towards the restoration of woman's lost inheritance was made by the Married Woman's Property Act of 1882. In this, for the first time since the Reformation, she was recognized as an independent entity. The moral principle is not stated, it is true, but it is nevertheless implied in the material concession. There is no need to

be too critical as to the manner of the restoration of a right, the fact of restoration reacts upon the popular mind, and prepares the way for the acceptance of an ethical principle.

16. THE NEED OF SERIOUS STUDY OF ACTUAL CONDITIONS.

Meanwhile the whole trend of legislation has, for the past eighty years, been increasingly inspired by a sincere desire to rebuild the State upon principles of greater justice. By much of this legislation women have directly benefited. They will benefit to a greater degree when they learn to organize on a larger scale and when they apply themselves more seriously to a systematic study of the conditions which promote or are contrary to the welfare of their sex.

A large number of women are now equipped to undertake serious study. All cannot engage in research work, but all can profit by the result of such labours, and can thus help to make a sound public opinion. In the preface to the invaluable bibliography *Woman in Industry*, by Lucy Wyatt Papworth, M.A., and Dorothy M. Zimmern, M.A., we read, after a comment on the scarcity of material dealing with women in industry, of the tendency of such as exists to treat woman's interests either as identical with man's, or when this practice is discarded, as identical with those of children :—

“ At other times the interests of women and of the community are held to be identical. There is, for instance, hardly any discussion of the problem of married women's work, which so much as touches on the woman's point of view. The effect on the race alone is considered. The effect on the women themselves, which after all has its bearing on the race too, is quite ignored.

“ Indeed it is the absence of the woman's point of view which has struck us over and over again in this compilation. Many an interesting article dealing with questions of vital importance to working women has had to be omitted because their existence was ignored. Many have been included when they contained a brief paragraph, which did no more than indicate the existence of a problem which the writer did not feel called upon to do more than mention.

“ It must in fairness be said that women themselves are in

part to blame for this neglect. Too often have they been content to let others manage their affairs for them ; too often have they failed to press forward their own particular needs."

Enough has been said, I hope, to convince Catholic students that there is much to study, and grave reason for studying. A new society is being born, not without peril and pain. How far woman realizes her own most complete development and through this gives of her best to social life will depend to no small extent on the part played by the comparatively small band of Catholic women in this country.

CHAPTER III

SOME LAWS WHICH AFFECT THE PERSONAL AND PRIVATE LIVES OF WOMEN

1. GROWING INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT.

WE may now consider the laws in this country which bear most directly upon the lives of women and which also come within the scope of this manual.

In 1912 the International Council of Women¹ brought out a little volume entitled *Women's Position in the Laws of the Nations*.² It is a trilingual publication; articles are contributed by representatives of eighteen countries and are written in either English, French, or German; Madame d'Abbadie d'Arrast contributes an interesting introduction. The purpose of the book is to emphasize the inequalities in law which exist to-day and which are unfavourable to women. No historical surveys are given and no attempt is made to measure laws against moral principles. It is for the most part assumed that any separate treatment constitutes an injustice in itself. The inequalities in law are also frankly put forward as a plea for Woman's Suffrage, while at the same time the existence of those who may desire the reform of laws without desiring the Suffrage is recognized. In the foreword it is stated that the International Council had two main objects in view,

" the one to reach the great body of women in every country and popularize among them a study of the laws of their own country, and an intelligent comparison of these with the laws in other

¹ A description of this Council will be found in the chapter on the International Aspect of Feminism.

² *Woman's Position in the Laws of the Nations*. G. Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei und Verlag, Karlsruhe i. B. Price M. 2.40.

countries. The other is to provide a clear statement, suitable for circulation in many lands, which would serve to show that existing laws often bear adversely, and with entire injustice upon women, and can no longer be regarded as in harmony with that higher standard of enlightenment, that broader culture, and stronger grasp of public duties and responsibilities, which are characteristic features of present-day womanhood in every great nation of the world."

2. THE NEED OF STUDY BY CATHOLICS.

Everywhere the leaders of Feminism are endeavouring to stimulate an interest in this subject and to organize public opinion in favour of certain reforms. It is therefore of the utmost importance that Catholic women should share this interest, and not only acquire the legal facts but consider them in the light of moral law. Unfortunately the statement that a law is "no longer in harmony with that higher standard of enlightenment," etc., in the mouth of a modern Feminist may mean that it *is* in harmony with that Christian law which a "higher standard" has rejected. There is another reason for the spread of information, and that is the need of self-protection. There are some women who have been ignorant of the existence of a law until they came to break it, others who have continued to suffer injustice through ignorance of the existence of a law which might have been invoked on their behalf.

3. A FIELD FOR RESEARCH.

The laws of this country on the whole compare favourably with those of any other in the matter of justice to women; at the same time they appear to be the least consistent. England has never been subjected to a complete legal code, either Roman, or the Napoleonic code which may be described as Roman law brought up to date. Neither has it been subject to a Revolutionary cataclysm which broke abruptly with the past. Laws which now call for reform may not have been oppressive until they became anachronisms. The whole subject of the past history of English law as it related to women, and of the influence of the Church and of Canon Law upon it, is practically an

unworked field for which it is to be hoped a labourer will soon be found. A cursory glance at some of the marshalled facts of the law such as those to be found in *The Status of Women under the English Law*¹ (this book is, however, mainly concerned with woman's position in public life), reveals how much prejudice has already been outgrown and how much disability removed from women. Much in the past upon which it would be extremely interesting to have light remains obscure, as for instance what were the causes of the strong waves of feeling which seem to have arisen from time to time against women continuing to enjoy privileges they seem to have exercised. Had these feelings a theoretic or a practical origin? In 1290 we find women disabled from bearing witness in a question of villein or free blood: "for the blood of a man shall not be tried by a woman."² Was this the result of frequent cases of perjury committed by women? Or did the determination to exclude women spring from opposition to the Church's championship of her claims? Was there a wave of reaction on the part of the natural man dismayed at the sight of the number of the victories already won on woman's behalf? The inconsistencies in pre-Reformation laws are eloquent of the conflict between secular and ecclesiastical thought. In 1344 we have the protest of the Commons against the Church's permission for married women to make wills,³ and yet in the following year we find that according to borough customs⁴ a married woman trader can sue and be sued apart from her husband.

Inconsistencies in law are a feature of the present no less than of the past, but while those of the past offer fascinating fields for exploration to the research student, those of the present provide the average woman with grounds for practical action.

¹ *The Status of Women under the English Law*, by A. Beatrice Wallis Chapman, D.Sc. (Econ.), and Mary Wallis Chapman, B.A. George Routledge & Sons.

² Page 14.

³ Page 16.

⁴ Page 16.

4. MAINTENANCE.

(a) *Of Single Women*.—The Poor Law of Elizabeth's reign, which had to deal with an appalling problem of pauperism, laid it down (43, c. 2, 3, 6) that parents, grandparents and children were liable for the maintenance the one of the other: (1) if the person maintained were unable to work; (2) if the person maintaining were able to afford it. The decision was to rest with the Justices in Petty Sessions, and the obligation to extend to lawful blood relations only. Parents were to be bound to maintain their children up to the age of sixteen—if they would otherwise become chargeable to the poor rate. An able-bodied girl therefore cannot claim maintenance from her parents above the age of sixteen.¹ This law is in force to-day.

Side by side with this Poor Law are other legal enactments of somewhat conflicting tendency.

Thus:—

1. A girl may legally contract marriage at twelve years of age.
2. She cannot under the age of twenty-one marry without the consent of her parents. In the case of minors the consent of parents must be obtained before a marriage licence is granted. This is a regulation of procedure only and failure to conform to it does not invalidate a marriage which has been duly solemnized.
3. In industrial and educational legislation she is considered to be a child till she is fourteen years of age.
4. In industrial legislation she is, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, described as a "young person," and is subject to special protective provisions—as to health, hours of work, etc.
5. She is legally obliged to domicile with her parents till she is twenty-one years of age, at which date she attains her majority in English law.

¹ This law applies to both sexes, but as the woman's case is our present consideration, laws are only referred to in their bearing upon it.

- 6 Up to the age of sixteen her religion is determined by her father. At sixteen she is free to choose it for herself. But if she is under the care of the Poor Law Guardians she is free to choose her religion as early as twelve years of age.
7. According to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 she can legally consent to her own ruin at the age of sixteen (this Act raised the age of consent from thirteen), but it is a crime to remove her from the custody of her parents against their will if she is under the age of eighteen.

In all these we seem to see no less than six distinct influences at work.

1. There is the influence of the old Roman Law, which fixed the marriageable age in accordance with the early physical maturity attained in Southern Europe, and which gave always immense authority to the father, who could dispose of daughters in marriage as he pleased.

2. There is the Poor Law, which was mainly concerned with the prevention of idleness and vagrancy and the problem of rendering the masses self-supporting, rather than with restrictions on excessive labour or with the interests of the workers themselves. This Poor Law, in accordance with the attitude towards child life which prevailed at the time of its origin, sought to make children barely out of infancy contribute to their own support.

3. There is modern educational legislation which is occupied with raising the general level of education and with promoting technical training, and which is therefore anxious to prolong the period of childhood and to postpone as long as possible the date at which the child can be claimed as a wage earner.

4. Then there is the mass of industrial legislation of the last hundred years which seeks to protect the health of the workers from insanitary conditions, excessive hours, etc., etc.

5. There are also the industrial laws of more recent origin which regulate wages, the relation of employer and employed, and the action of Trades Unions, etc.

6. There are the modern reforms of criminal law, the

tendency of which is to postpone the age of moral responsibility to coincide not with physical maturity alone, but with moral maturity also.

The beneficial changes which have been effected through legislation in recent years have not come about as the result of any ethical theory, or any conscious return to Christian principles in social life, rather they have been empirical in nature. Each reform, though it may have been inspired by humane feelings, has been the result of some observed detail of injustice which at the time it seemed possible to deal with practically. But, unconsciously and by a process of working backwards from experiment to theory, modern legislation is happily approaching much more nearly to conformity with Christian principles than was the case fifty years ago.

Undoubtedly the age at which self-maintenance is obligatory remains low, and the point of interest for us lies in how far this affects the Catholic ideal of family life and the exercise of moral control by parents.

It is a question which affects the poorer classes almost exclusively.

In the well-to-do classes the *custom* is to regard the obligation of maintaining a child as extending at any rate to the age of twenty-one, when the moral control of the parent is supposed to cease and the father's house is no longer its legal domicile. This custom is practically a necessity, since the education for professions and skilled occupations is a protracted one and extends for several years beyond school age. But it might happen that from passion or prejudice a well-to-do father might drive a daughter from home, if for instance between the age of sixteen and twenty-one she exercised her liberty to change her religion, and in doing so he would be legally within his rights. But if he had failed to educate her to be self-supporting, and if when turned out of her home she as a protest took the extreme step of going to the workhouse, the guardians would compel the father to provide her with suitable maintenance until she was in a position to support herself in a way suitable to her state in life.

With regard to the poorer classes the case is often reversed, it may be the wage-earning daughter who, offended with a father, leaves the home rather than continue to contribute to the family budget. The working-class father is not likely to invoke the law of domicile on his own behalf, and the girl's independence becomes complete. In all classes when the obligations of paternal and filial piety motivated by religion do not bind individuals and where strong affection is absent, economic independence, in whatever manner it is arrived at, becomes the basis for emancipation.

The wage-earning girl of sixteen who contributes a sum covering her maintenance to the family budget, actually fills the position of a lodger in her father's house. Conscious of the possibility of complete independence she is not likely to put up with irksome restrictions on her actions. Her remedy is simple; she leaves her father's house and becomes a lodger in that of some one else.

It is worth noting how a modern school of writers, anxious to spread materialistic doctrines, welcomes this early economic independence as the basis of moral freedom for women, as they conceive of freedom. Plays, novels and pamphlets with literary merit and persuasive earnestness preach the logical right of the independent young woman to take her natural impulses and inclinations and her crude reasoning powers as her guides in life and are never weary of ridiculing the futile efforts of parents, who are presented as narrow-minded and out-of-date, to retain a moral control over their children.

The old-world conception of a father with despotic power over sons and daughters supported by law and by public opinion is, it is true, gone for ever, and there is no reason to regret the fact. The conflict now lies between an excessive individualism on the one hand and the Christian conception of family life on the other. Cardinal Gasquet, in *Christian Family Life in Pre-Reformation Days*,¹ writes :—

“ There is much, no doubt, in surroundings and circumstances, but there is no home so humble that it may not be a school of

¹ C. T. S., *id.*

sound, solid, practical Catholic life ; there are no surroundings and circumstances, however hard and difficult, in which the Christian family, recognizing its obligations, cannot practise the lesson taught by the Holy Household at Nazareth. Of course it is religion which must bind the members of the family together, and no ties are secure, or will bear the stress of life, which are not strengthened by prayer and the faithful practice of religious duties."

No young member of a really Christian family would think of claiming emancipation from the moral control of parents on the ground that she earned sufficient to pay for her share of the food and shelter provided in the home.

The Poor Law was designed against idleness and aimed at ensuring as early a relief as possible to overburdened parents of the working classes.

The remedy for premature moral independence in the young lies solely in a return to Christian faith and practice.

(b) *Married Women*.—A married woman is entitled to *reasonable* maintenance from her husband. That is to say, she can claim enough for the actual *necessaries* of life which are proper to the class to which she belongs. However great the wealth of the husband, she has no further legal claim upon it.

(c) *Widows*.—The maintenance of widows will be found under "Inheritance."

5. THERE IS ANOTHER SIDE TO THE SHIELD. WHAT IS A WOMAN'S OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE MAINTENANCE ?

(a) *An unmarried woman* is responsible for the maintenance of parents and grandparents, if they would otherwise be chargeable to the poor rates and if in the opinion of the magistrates she is able to provide it, and if there is no son or grandson married or unmarried able to do this. She is not in law responsible for collaterals.¹ In daily life, however, we constantly find an unmarried woman supporting sisters or a brother when charity demands it.

¹ Her responsibility for illegitimate children does not come into the scope of this manual, and will be dealt with in a second part which it is hoped to bring out later.

(b) *A married woman* is responsible for the maintenance of her husband (and her children up to the age of sixteen) under the same conditions, but she is not responsible for the husband if, while being potentially a worker, he is merely idle or vicious. A married woman also equally with an unmarried is responsible for the maintenance of parents and grandparents, but only from her own separate estate, if she have one, or from her independent earnings.

(c) *A widow* is responsible for the maintenance of her children until they are sixteen years of age.

6. INHERITANCE,

(a) *Testamentary Power*.—The power of bequeathing property rests with the individual owner (man or woman) absolutely. Neither can be obliged to leave it to their children or their next of kin. There is no part inalienable from the family by law as is the case in France where a portion is secured to relatives. A daughter then has no legal claim on the property of parents. Although in the vast majority of cases parents do leave their property to their children in conformity with justice and natural affection, cases may and do occur when this liberty of the individual is used to the injury of descendants. A father, for instance, from punitive motives, or acting from prejudice or passion, may leave his property entirely away from his wife or children, even if by so doing he leaves them destitute and chargeable to the rates. In such a case the widow would be legally bound to work for the maintenance of the children, and if she failed they would have to be maintained, in some way direct or indirect, by public money. Religious prejudice is the most frequent cause of a punitive alienation of money, and this alienation is the act of one who fails to recognize the principle of the spiritual freedom of the individual.

Again this complete liberty in the matter of bequest is a logical outcome of the theory of complete ownership of property as against that of mere trusteeship. The theory of complete ownership has penetrated deeply into English thought, and has in fact come to be universally accepted. A parent is considered to be within his rights in disinheriting

a child who has proved himself vicious or unworthy of the family position and tradition, nay more, to be acting in defence of the moral law and of society in so doing. But surely a deeper view is to see that the very moral failure of the child constitutes a claim upon the family rather than upon the public, since the failure arises either from defective upbringing or from some predisposition obtaining in the family ancestry.

(b) *Intestacy*. The law only steps in and regulates the succession to the property of an individual when he or she has failed to make a valid disposition of it, or is incapable of so doing, as in the case of a lunatic.

(c) *Personal Property*. The succession to the personal estate of an intestate, including leaseholds, is regulated by the Statute of Distributions. The law makes no distinction of sex.

Right up to the Probate Act of 1857, the estate of an intestate came under the jurisdiction of administrators in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Prior to 1275 the law decreed that one-third of an intestate's estate should be used by the Ordinary for pious purposes, but an Act in that year required the Ordinary to pay the debts of an intestate before devoting the portion to pious purposes—and again in 1357 it was enacted that the Ordinary shall appoint the next and most lawful friend of the deceased to administer the goods.

By the Act of 1857 the jurisdiction passed to the new Court of Probate.

Under this Act a childless widow takes half of a man's estate and the rest passes to his next-of-kin, and failing these (which would only fail in the case of a bastard without issue) passes to the Crown. If there are children she takes one-third, two-thirds being divided among the children irrespective of sex or seniority.

By the Intestates Act of 1890 the widow takes a sum of £500 from the estate before a division is made.

(d) *Real Estate (landed property)*.—The succession in the case of intestacy is governed by the Inheritance Act of 1833.

Here the male line has the preference, and it is only in default of male issue that the female line comes in. If a

man dies intestate, leaving landed property, his eldest son takes the property as his heir at law, and if he also died intestate his eldest son would succeed. The male lineal issue of the original heir at law must be exhausted before the younger brother of the original heir at law, or the issue of such younger brother, inherits. This law operates only in the case of intestacy. An heir on coming into possession of landed property can leave it to whom he pleases by will, and can if he choose give the preference to a daughter. The landed property of a woman dying intestate passes to her nearest male relative.

(e) *Entailed Estates*.—A word must be said on the matter of entailed estates. The entailed estate is the creation of an individual owner. When there are large family estates and a title it is usual to leave the estates in strict settlement to go with the title. The owner of such an estate, when he marries settles it on himself for life, then to the eldest son for life with remainder to the heirs of the body of such a son. By the same settlement a jointure is provided for the widow and portions for the younger children, and the eldest son takes the estates saddled with these provisions. When the eldest son of the eldest son comes of age they two can and usually do bar the entail and re-settle in conformity with existing family circumstances.

All this concerns the free-will of the individual owner. It is not possible to do more here than briefly indicate leading lines, for English law is complicated, intricate, and honycombed with exceptions.

To sum up, the law has nothing to do with the free bestowal of property which is the right of the individual man or woman, who may or may not exercise this right in conformity with abstract justice. The law merely regulates succession when the owner has made no deposition. In the matter of personal property the law treats the sexes equally. In the matter of land the law gives preference to the male line—but it must be borne in mind that the individual owner is perfectly free in his bestowal by will to give preference to the female line.

7. GUARDIANSHIP.

The strongest of all natural ties is that between mother and child, and any inability placed on a woman as guardian of her child is felt by her as an injustice. 1308, Parl. Rolls Record edn. 1, 278a. The law relative to the guardianship of children, much as it has been improved in the latter part of the last century, still calls for further reform. The history of this branch of legislation corresponds closely with the fluctuations in women's position in social life.

(a) *Early rights*.—In 1308 the wardship of the children of persons holding in "socage" passed to the nearest relative and, apparently, irrespective of sex. Thus a mother on the father's death would become the guardian of her children, and cases are on record in which she claimed and obtained this position.

(b) *Lost at the Reformation*.—But in 1660, when the "Reformation" had done its work, we find 1660, Statutes 12 Ch. II. c. 2 (sec. 15). a law abolishing "wardship," and giving power to the father to leave the guardianship of his children to whom he will. The mother is not even mentioned.

(c) *Partially Recovered in Nineteenth Century*.—1839, 2 and 3 Vict., c. 54. In the nineteenth century the mother very gradually begins to recover her rights. In 1839 it is enacted that if the mother petition, the judges may, at their discretion, order that she may have access at stated times to infants in the sole custody of the father or *persons appointed by him*. The Judges also have power to give the mother the charge of children under seven years of age.

Again in 1873 a mother (by her next friend) 1873, 36 and 37 Vict., c. 12. may petition Court of Chancery for access to her children. The Court, if it deems fit, may allow her custody till they reach the age of sixteen. Such an arrangement is not to invalidate any agreement for separation between the parents which may exist.

A great step forward was made in 1886. 1886, 49 and 50 Vict., c. 10. The mother, by an Act passed in that year, has now the right of joint guardianship with any guardian who may be appointed by the father. If the

Court appoints a guardian the wishes of the mother as well as those of the father are to be taken into account. Moreover a mother may herself appoint a guardian on the husband's death or incapacity; she may also endeavour to safeguard the interests of her children after her death by appointing a guardian to act *with* the father. But unless the father can be proved unfitted for the sole care of his children, he cannot be compelled to accept a joint guardianship. The mother, on the other hand, is obliged to accept a joint guardianship with whomsoever the father may appoint. Thus, although the law requires a widow to maintain her children by her own unaided exertions, it does not yet recognize her as being capable of acting as their sole guardian. In the past the law was doubtless intended to be protective and was based on the assumption—for which there were some grounds—that a woman was unable to cope with the situation alone, and that from her lack of knowledge of the world and experience in affairs outside the home, her children's interests would inevitably suffer. But the circumstances are changed, and women are daily becoming more fitted for responsibility. The right to prove fitness to be sole guardian and the power to refuse to accept a colleague chosen without reference to her wishes, should surely in justice be accorded to a woman.

8. RIGHT TO EARNINGS AND THE HOLDING OF PROPERTY.

(a) *Single Women*.—A single woman has complete control over her earnings and her inherited property.

(b) *Married Women*.—The history of the married woman's position under these heads during the last century shows steady progress towards justice.

In 1833 a blow was struck at the widow's right to dower, which she had previously enjoyed, by an Act which disallowed her claim upon income derived from land which had been either disposed of by her husband during his lifetime or by will.

In 1837 an Act which concerned wills states expressly that no new power is given to a married woman to make a will without her husband's consent.

1833, Statutes 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 105.

1837, Statutes 1 Vic., c. 26.

1857, Sta- In 1857 a married woman may dispose of her
tutes 20 and reversionary interests in personal estates *with*
21 Vic. c. 57. her husband's consent.

1870, Sta- In 1870 the wages and earnings of married
tutes 33 and women are declared to be at their own disposal,
34 Vic., c. as also is inherited personal property under
93. £200 in value and all inherited real property.

1882, 45 and An Act of this year, one of the most revolution-
46 Vic., c. ary in the whole history of legislation, repealed
75. all preceding ones and placed married women on
exactly the same footing as single ones with regard to the
ownership and disposal of property. Thus in law a married
woman is recognized at last as a morally independent
entity.

1893, 56 and A married woman is to be bound as to her
57 Vic., c. separate property by all contracts she enters into
63. otherwise than as an agent to her husband.

Thus quite justly is she held accountable for her own
action as a reasonable being and cannot claim immunity
from responsibility which no longer accords with her right
to control her own property.

9. LE CONSEIL DE FAMILLE.

It is felt by many that some equivalent of the French
"Family Council," might beneficially be established in this
country. The "Family Council" was instituted in France
in 1803 by the Code Napoleon—(a Code which is in many
respects anything but favourable to women). This Council
consists of six members, male and female, of a family group,
usually selected from among parents, grandparents, and
elder relatives, approved by the Juge de Paix, who presides
at its deliberations and sees that its decisions are carried out.
Such a Council can be appointed, on the application of any
one concerned, to look after the interests, both moral and
material, of lunatics, semi-lunatics, degenerates and persons
morally irresponsible from whatever cause. The Council
appoints a guardian who has the immediate supervision of
the "défendeur" (the individual in whose interests the
Council has been called). A husband is by right the guardian

of his wife, a wife may be and often is the guardian of her husband; a daughter is occasionally the guardian of her father. The individual who has applied to have any one put under guardianship is not eligible to act as guardian or to be a member of the Council. He or she may, however, be present at its meetings, but without the right to exercise a vote. No one can be placed under guardianship who has not first been interviewed by some one deputed by the Juge de Paix.

Such an institution as this Council would act as a check against the exercise of despotism or any form of spoliation of those not capable of defending themselves. It would greatly strengthen the solidarity of the family, and would effectually prevent the ruin of the fortune of an entire family which can so easily be brought about by the misconduct of one irresponsible member.

10. PUBLIC RIGHTS IN MUNICIPALITY AND STATE.

We may conclude this section by a statement of the Public Rights in Municipality and State enjoyed by women at the present time.

(a) A *single* woman can vote in the following elections:—County Council, Town Council, Urban and Rural District Councils, Metropolitan Borough Council, Board of Guardians and Parish Councils. A woman votes as an *occupier*, no woman votes as an *owner*.

(b) A *married* woman can vote as an occupier for the following:—Rural and Urban District Councils, Metropolitan Borough Councils, Parish Councils, Boards of Guardians, and (in London only) for the County Council. She cannot qualify as joint-occupier with her husband. No *married* woman can in England and Wales vote in a Town Council Election.

(c) A woman may sit on the London County Council, she may be elected as "Councillor or Alderman of the Council of any County or Borough." She may be elected, but she cannot in these capacities act as a magistrate. She is eligible also as District and Urban Councillor and as Guardian of the Poor.

(d) The following posts are open to women :—Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Churchwarden, Parish Clerk, and the lower ranks of the Civil Service.

Single women and widows are eligible as Sanitary Inspectors, Factory Inspectors and Health Visitors.

(e) *Professions open to Women*.—Medicine, Dental Surgery, Pharmacy, Accountancy, Architecture, Agriculture, Horticulture, Nursing, Dramatic Profession ; the practice of the Arts of Music, Painting, etc., etc. ; Teaching.

The profession of Law is not open to women, either as Barrister or Solicitor. In France and Italy women are now allowed to plead in the courts.

(f) *Universities*.—The Universities of the United Kingdom give degrees to women, with the exception of Oxford and Cambridge. These latter give no scholarships, degrees, or fellowships to women, but they admit them to examinations. Women hold appointments as tutors, lecturers and demonstrators, in London and provincial Universities and at the present several professorships are held by them in Irish Universities.

Information of this nature rapidly becomes out of date. *The English Woman's Year Book*, published annually by A. and C. Black, contains a summary of laws which affect women passed in the preceding twelve months, as also the latest facts about women's professions, employments, etc.

CHAPTER IV

WOMAN IN INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

1. "No man[†] may with impunity outrage that human dignity which God Himself treats with reverence, nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation of the eternal life of heaven. Nay, more; no man has in this matter power over himself. To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right; he cannot give up his soul to servitude; for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God, the most sacred and inviolable of rights.

* * * * *

The working man in like manner has property and belongings in respect to which he should be protected; and foremost of all, his soul and mind."¹

HERE we have a definition of that fundamental right for which it is our duty to contend by all lawful means. It is the voice of the Church calling the world back to Christian principles.

We have now to consider woman's lot in industrial life as seen in the light of the legislation of the past hundred years, and until we come to the history of quite recent times we shall be concerned only with that of working women. We have seen how, since the Reformation, woman had in this country been totally excluded from the fields of commerce and industry, therefore we shall not expect to find her in the ranks of employers of labour, or in those of the builders of the new industries which sprang up upon the introduction of machinery.

When women re-entered industrial life as carried on outside the home, they came through the door of poverty, and as members of a defenceless and easily exploited class.

¹ *Rerum Novarum*, Leo XIII, May 15, 1891.

There is a growing literature dealing with the history of industrial legislation. Facts have been diligently amassed and theories are advanced one day to be overthrown the next, for not only do obvious evils cry for remedy, but there is the need of finding principles upon which to base remedial measures of a nature to commend themselves to the public conscience.

Catholics have no need to rediscover what they have never lost. We have inherited our principles intact, our duty is to make them widely known. We cannot in common fairness be reproached with having only recently broken a silence which lasted through the years of greatest stress, because the centuries which produced a de-Christianized economic world were also busy with the attempt to eradicate the Catholic Faith.

In our case the study of the subject is simplified because we read history in the steady light shed from fixed principles. Nevertheless it remains intricate and confused owing to the mass of detail available, and we soon find ourselves in the plight of those who cannot see the wood for the trees.

2. THE SUBJECT CONSIDERED AS A DRAMA.

But let us help ourselves by endeavouring to view the struggle between capital and woman's labour as the intensely human drama it is, the final acts of which have still to be played. Let us begin by ringing up the curtain upon an empty stage and proceed to exercise our creative imaginations on the lines indicated by a placard fastened to the bare back-cloth. "Imagine the thought-conditions of the early nineteenth century." Then we will have each of the actors called before us in turn, and inverting the usual order we will begin with the weakest and most insignificant. When we know something about them all, and when we have formed some opinions on the sort of lives they lead, judged by the principles with which we set out, we will call for the drama to begin. If it has power to rivet our attention and to touch our sympathies it will live in our memories and accompanying us in whatever studies we may undertake, save us from losing our way among practical details.

3. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND CHRISTIAN ETHICS IN PUBLIC LIFE.

And now let us endeavour to recreate the thought atmosphere of the early nineteenth century as it enveloped the average citizen. Without this effort we shall certainly make the mistake of judging the men and women of that period by lights which were not then shining. It was in fact a very dark period. Divine Science had been cast aside as unpractical, and physical science had then hardly started on her journey. All belief in the brotherhood of man (other than in a vague and conveniently manipulated sense) had ceased to exist. A complete divorce between economic law and ethical law was accepted as inevitable. In mediæval times the Church had fought hard to bring the whole of life under the control of Christian ethics, and, looking back over the period covered by this struggle, we can see how nearly she came to accomplishing her task.¹ Her most formidable opponent was Roman jurisprudence, which though at no time accepted in this country as a legal code, was assiduously taught in the Universities in the twelfth century and undoubtedly greatly influenced not only thought generally but the legal decisions of courts. It was the highest embodiment of human wisdom and statecraft, it was a lucid and equitable expression of the spirit of the world. In it was enacted the absolute ownership of property, the right of free contracts between employer and employed, the non-existence of an objective standard of value, and the theory that a bargain between buyer and vendor was a lawful pitting of wit against wit. Opposed to this code was the Church's insistence that the ownership of property was not absolute, but that the owner was merely a trustee responsible to God and morally bound to give of his surplus to the poor; her declaration that there was a limit to the freedom of contract between employer and employed, that limit being a wage to the employed which would support a human life; her doctrine that in the matter of a bargain each was to be guided by

¹ *Economic History*, Vol. I, Prof. Ashley; Part I, chap. iii., Part II, Chap. iv. Longmans & Co.

the counsel to do unto others as you would be done by, and that to profit by the ignorance of another of the real value of a thing offered for sale was to commit a fraud. As economic life grew more and more complex the Church's task of applying Christian principles would doubtless have increased in difficulty, but could never have amounted to the gigantic problem of re-making a society which for a long period had been wholly given over to the task of building a State upon the spirit of the world.

4. THE PERSONAL PIETY OF THE PERIOD.

In England during the eighteenth century this un-Christian spirit worked out in a very satisfactory way for the well-to-do, the strong and the efficient ; and very disastrously for the weak and the poor. But it would be a mistake to suppose that because during this period Christian ethics had disappeared from public life, Christian piety had disappeared from private life. There was a great deal of individual piety, and hearts were touched and consciences stirred at the sight of poverty and misery. It was generally taken for granted that God ruled the world in some obscure way, and there were heart-searchings to find His will—heart-searchings which drove men back into seeing in the words of the Psalmist, "The Heaven of Heaven is the Lord's, but the Earth He has given to the children of men," a justification for declaring that moral laws were not intended to apply to industrial life. The idea was still strong that God had some rights, but in the popular mind these were largely compressed into a right to the homage of a grim sort of Sabbath observance. It is rather touching to find a petition presented by the Operative Bleachers of the west of Scotland to their employers, in 1853,¹ praying for a reduction of the hours of labour, urging their plea on the ground that their observance of the Sabbath suffers from excessive hours of work on week days and renders them either unable to go to Church at all or "listless and haggard in the House of God." Here at least is a survival of the consciousness that

¹ *The History of Factory Legislation*. B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison. P. S. King & Son, Ltd. Page 132.

God and their souls have rights. But for the most part the pious well-to-do are driven to convenient conceptions of the attributes of God. He is believed to be inordinately gratified by "industry" in His creatures, and has so ordained life that to cease to be incessantly industrious is to fall into vice. His blessing and approval is seen in the success in business of individuals and in the commercial prosperity of nations. The successful are His élite, the poor are somehow a necessary part of His plan and will very likely have things made up to them hereafter; meanwhile man is not responsible for them, and God Himself has said "the poor you have always with you." Add to this comfortable acquiescence in the Divine Plan on the part of the successful a vast ignorance of the causes of and nature of disease and the possible remedies produced by hygiene and sanitation, and we have a very fair idea of the mental atmosphere in which the drama is to be played.

5. INFLUENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY LIBERTY.

But we must not forget to add that the new doctrines of "Liberty" let loose at the French Revolution had some echo in this country. They stirred the proletariat with dim thoughts of revolt and led them to sporadic action here and there, and strengthened the well-to-do individualist in his conception of personal freedom. The horror with which the English Individualist had come to regard the possibility of a State control which should touch his property or practice was heightened by disgust at the despotism of tyrants, engendered by the Napoleonic wars.

6. WOMAN'S POSITION.

As for the popular ideas about woman, she was in some sort of not-to-be-too-clearly-defined way man's property. Did not the Divine plan of creation provide a helpmeet for man and did not an emancipated conscience proclaim man's absolute ownership of property and therefore of helpmeets?

7. CHILD ACTORS IN THE DRAMA.

And now let us call for the youngest actors to come upon the scene. We ourselves belong to an age which children

have completely conquered. Never before in our history has every one been so concerned with creating a happy, healthy, child-world, or the State so busied with the education and the rights of the children of the working classes. And although all this is tinged with materialism, and the child is apt to be sacred as the future "healthy citizen" rather than as the heir to immortality, the change is excellent as far as it goes. It is a crowd of strange little beings which comes before us, composed of the children of the poorest classes of great towns. Eyes which have been shielded from no ugliness or degradation are strained, anxious and dull, or preternaturally sharp and cunning. But whether they are dull and timid or bold and defiant, they equally lack confidence. For them life is work, uncertain work, and they know of no other conception of it. They look forward to working harder and harder until perhaps they have children of their own to work for them. It does not seem strange to them if their parents are sometimes idle and live upon the earnings of their children. It has been so dinned into them that they should be grateful for every crust they eat that there comes to be a little shame attached to the eating of that which they have not earned. They have heard of heaven, they have seen so many little comrades fall out of the ranks, too weary to go on, they have seen them droop and die and "go to heaven" which to them seems full of this tired company. They have heard of a Father in heaven, but the father on earth is a being who at best toils and toils and has a heavy hand to punish, so the news means little more than that there is another taskmaster awaiting them when they too fall out of the ranks. Of play, full of the joy of life, they have no conception, and of holidays they know almost nothing. They have perhaps been taken to see a man hanged as a rare treat, and to an occasional fair or wake in which brawling and drunkenness are a great feature, and where they are the tolerated spectators of their parents' amusements. They have no "rights," but mercifully they are not all strangers to love. Many come from homes full of misery and ignorance but sweetened by the strong natural

affection which hardship intensifies in some natures. It is useless to question them, they have no views, no theories, all is taken for granted ; they have nothing with which to compare their lives and they are not looking for any one to rescue them.

8. WOMEN ENTER THE SCENE.

And close on their heels come the women—their mothers—who have done all the work for them when they were not yet four years old and so unable to begin to do their share. The mothers who cooked and washed and scrubbed and made and mended and carried on at the same time a home industry or went to the factory to work ; who had sharp tongues, rough hands and worn-out tempers, but who yet for the most part loved them. We see before us a group of women who also have nothing to say. They work usually because the man cannot earn enough to keep the family, and they cannot suffer the children to starve. They are staunch to the solidarity of the home ; they have no notion of a “ right ” of their own or any case against the husband. Hard as life is they accept it as part of a universe they have not made and do not dream of re-making. They toiled themselves as far back as their memories go, they had no rights as children, they do as they were done by, and there is no margin of energy left from which initiative or self-help could spring.

9. THE WORKING MEN.

Now come the men—a far more varied group—and with them comes the first hint of an independent spirit and gropings after constructive thought. They are ground down but they are not beaten. They have never lost the tradition of the power of combination and the possibility of collective bargaining. They have heard some echoes of the old guilds, they know something of the history of small unions of craftsmen, self-governing and successful.¹ They are ready to fight out their salvation in the new industries if they can discover how. They are alert and suspicious.

¹ *History of Trade Unionism*, Webb. Longmans & Co.

Many are self-seeking and ambitious, only looking to climb up into the class of employers ; others have a sense of class loyalty and solidarity. In their homes they are the masters and their rights are manifold, but for the most part they do not shirk responsibility. They have no academic theories about the work of women and children. All that is decided by the nearness of starvation. They have much that is confused to say of their wrongs and of the classes above them, but the natural leaders among them lack education and help must in the beginning come from the very class of the oppressors.

10. EMPLOYERS AND PHILANTHROPISTS.

Now the big employers come before us and with them comes logical argument. They have a great deal to tell us about economic laws and about the bases of a nation's prosperity. They explain that they are the pioneers of industries which will bring unexampled wealth to all classes in the country. They point to the small employer and the owners of domestic workshops whom they are come to supersede, as offering worse conditions of labour than they do in the factories. They point out with truth that child labour is general, they have not introduced it. They demand to be free from the meddling of the sentimentalist and that outrage on their liberty—State interference. They tell us that if they prosper, their work-people will ultimately benefit, if they fail in the race for success their work-people will starve. They are an efficient, hard-headed, energetic race. Among their ranks are those who are only concerned with success and who are not at all troubled about the welfare of their employees, beyond the point of keeping them at the point of bare efficiency. That some are born to toil and fail, others to succeed, they honestly believe. They openly oppose and despise the race of statesmen-philanthropists who now enter and mingle with them. They regard them as enemies to "progress." They pit their wits against them and they become ingenious in dodging and evading the legislation which in time is successfully brought into being. But other employers are full of heart-searchings as to their duties and responsibilities ; they welcome

the philanthropists as friends and are willing to experiment their theories and second their efforts. They are not content to wait for their own success and enrichment to react in favour of the worker ; they are anxious that each forward step of their own should correspond with some amelioration for labour.

We are now acquainted with all the actors whom it is necessary to know previous to 1860. After that date the educated woman will enter the scenes as the would-be champion of the working woman, but we will wait to study her and to consider her influence until the earlier acts have been played out.

11. POOR LAW CHILDREN.

The scenes are laid in the mills of the textile industries in which the first legislative experiments were made. But there is a prologue before the woman's drama begins, upon which the curtain must be rung up as early as 1802. During the latter part of the previous century an agitation had begun over the condition of the poor-law children. A custom had grown up of apprenticing these almost in infancy, without any guarantee as to the character of the employer or any provision for watching over the interests of the child. The parish authorities, very careless of child life in those days, were so anxious to be rid of their responsibilities at the earliest possible date that they even gave a bonus with the children in order to induce employers to take them. These children were in great demand among owners of domestic workshops and proprietors of factories placed, for the sake of water power, in lonely valleys where labour was scarce. Their misery and their defenceless condition were so evident that no controversy arose over a Bill introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1802, limiting their hours of labour per day to twelve. The Bill was hardly looked upon as introducing a new principle of State control since these children were already the property of the State. But such was the dislike of State interference among employers that, rather than

The Health
and Morals
of Appren-
tices Act, 42
Geo. III,
c. 73.

submit to the visits of inspectors they began to employ "free" children in place of the poor-law apprentices. In consequence of this an agitation arose on behalf of all children employed in factories, mainly owing to the labours of Robert Owen in whom was represented the best type of philanthropist mill-owner. Naturally an opposition to this move sprang into being furnished with plausible arguments. There were commissions, newspaper agitations, meetings, controversies and wire-pullings. It must be remembered, in order to understand this opposition, that child labour in the mills was necessary to adult labour and therefore that its restriction implied some rearrangement of the whole scheme of labour. Notwithstanding the strength of the opposition, in 1819 a great step forward was made, and the principle of State protection for the weak and helpless was established. Nine is fixed as the legal age at which children can be employed, and a twelve-hour day is henceforth to be the working day for all under sixteen years. Needless to say both these Acts were subsequently tinkered and finally repealed in favour of more comprehensive ones.¹

An Act for the Regulation of Cotton Mills and Factories. 39 Geo. III, c. 1819.

12. THE LABOUR OF 'FREE' CHILDREN.

Up to 1833 the struggle rages round proposed legislative restrictions on the employment of children and young persons only. In that year an Act was passed which satisfactorily settled their case for the time being. This Act fixed an eight-hour day for all between the ages of eight and thirteen. It is very significant that during all this stormy period, when the rights of children were under discussion, the women of the well-to-do classes are entirely silent. Between 1833 and 1869 women were totally excluded from even municipal life. We can well imagine that the prevailing ideas of the period gave them little encouragement to form and

3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 103. An Act to Regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in Mills and Factories.

¹ This remark applies to all factory legislation prior to the Factory and Workshops Consolidation Act of 1901.

express opinions on public matters even in private life. The fashionable chivalry of the hour was engaged in protecting them from the knowledge of painful facts. And yet at this same period Elizabeth Fry had begun her wonderful public work on behalf of prisoners, and Caroline Chisholme her less-known but even more remarkable labours for emigrant convicts. Was it because the father was the legal guardian of the child, the arbiter of its religion and its education, the custodian of its person, that he appeared to be fittingly the avenger of its wrongs? Anyhow we know that Robert Owen tried to enlist the pen of Harriet Martineau on behalf of his reforms, and failed. There is, it is true, Mrs. Browning's poem *The Cry of the Children*, which may have given expression to a widespread sensibility. But the poem lacks that touch of actuality which personal contact with the subject would have given.

13. STATE INTERVENTION SECURED.

And now, with the establishment of the principle of State interference in the case of the children, the prologue comes to an end. The play proper concerns woman's labour. Before the Act of 1833 few women had been working in the factories, but when the restrictions on child labour rendered the employment of children less profitable, a demand arose for women to take their place, their labour being the next in order of cheapness. They entered the factories in numbers, but as individuals, unorganized and nearly as helpless as children to fight their own battles.

14. MOVEMENT TO LIMIT WORKING-DAY FOR ALL.

Meanwhile in 1825 a movement for securing a ten-hour day for all factory labour had sprung up among working men, who, although unenfranchised, were to some extent organized and possessed of considerable influence. This movement took firm hold of the working classes from 1830 onwards, but as this claim for a limitation on the working day ran a little ahead of public opinion, the men astutely sheltered it behind the agitation then being conducted on behalf of the children. The men were convinced that the limitation of children's hours would shorten those of

the motive power of machinery, and that thus they would themselves benefit.

15. BATTLE FOUGHT ON BEHALF OF WOMEN.

They were doomed to disappointment, and after 1833, when futile efforts to procure a legal limitation of motive power had been made, the men again took cover, this time sheltering themselves behind an agitation for a restricted day for women. Between the years 1841 and 1847 the battle was ostensibly fought on women's behalf. How bitter was the fight can be judged from the tenor of a leader in *The Times* of March 20, 1844, commenting on the passing of an amendment to a government Act of that year, which secured a ten-hour day for women and young persons by the indirect means of defining the hours (inclusive of meals) between which they might be legally employed as 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. It contained the following passage :—

"It is a triumph of humanity. We have to sit still before we can comprehend it. When all is hushed, when the inward ear begins to listen, and the inward eye to gaze steadily, then at last it dawns and grows upon us, though we can hardly believe it . . . that a few hours since . . . one legislative House of the greatest Empire in this world resolved on the largest national interference in favour of poverty and industry to be found in the history of this or any other country." ¹

We in our turn to-day have to sit still before we can comprehend that this is not written in irony.

16. A TEN-HOUR DAY SECURED TO WOMEN.

In 1847 a ten-hour day was finally and directly secured to women and young persons. Rejoicings followed the passing of this Act. In all industrial areas it was regarded as a great victory. The men confidently counted on the limitation of woman's labour working out in practice as a limitation of their own. In this they reckoned without the ingenuity of the owners, who at once devised a system of "relays."

^{10 and 11}
^{Vict., c. 29.}
An Act to
Limit the
Hours of
Labour of
young per-
sons and
Females in
Factories.

¹ *History of Factory Legislation*, B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison. Page 67.

17. THE RELAY SYSTEM.

By this arrangement women worked in shifts replacing one another, and thus a long day of full work was secured to the mill without the time limit for an individual woman being exceeded. But so far as the women were concerned the advantages of the Act were by this device completely nullified. Although no individual woman worked longer than the scheduled time, during the intervals of her unemployment she hung about the neighbourhood of the factory with nothing definite to do and nowhere particular to go, as her home was usually some distance away and the time at her disposal too short to make it worth while to return there. Thus, instead of wholesome recreation or home interests being secured to her, she became too often a frequenter of the public house and worse. The inspectors did their duty and prosecuted employers for evading the intentions of the Act, but in the north of England the magistrates sympathized with the owners and would not convict. The owners appealed to the Home Secretary who compromised by recommending the inspectors not to lay information. The inspectors showed great spirit, declared that the Home Secretary had no power to suspend the law, and continued to prosecute. Those employers who obeyed the intention of the law, and happily there were some, complained bitterly of the competition of those who did not, and the state of things for the first few years after the passing of the Act of 1847 was chaotic. But in 1850 a Bill was passed which fixed the hours of labour for protected persons from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., or from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., including one and a half hours for meals.

18. THE RELAY SYSTEM APPLIED TO CHILDREN.

This should have been a death-blow to the possibility of a fifteen-hour day with its relay system, and therefore an immense gain for all, although it fixed a ten-and-a-half instead of a ten-hour day. But a way of evasion still lay open to the owner, and it was probably intended that it should. This Act referred to women and young persons only, it ignored children whose labour

therefore continued to be regulated by the previous Act of 1844 which although limiting the total hours of employment for an individual child laid it down that they could be employed any time between 5.30 a.m. and 8.30 p.m. They were intentionally left out of the 1850 Act because their labour was necessary to that of adult men, and by continuing to arrange for work in shifts and by substituting children for women, it would be still possible to keep the mills going fourteen or fifteen hours. From this moment men decided to fight their own battle openly and demanded a ten-hour day for themselves and the restriction of the motive power of machinery.

19. TEN-HOURS DAY FOR ALL SECURED.

The time was not yet ripe for such a conception of their rights, but in 1853 Lord Palmerston brought in a Bill which defined the children's day as between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. or 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. (and left the limit of their employment per day as six and a half hours or ten on alternate days, to which it had recently been restricted). With the passing of this Act a ten-hour day was at last secured for men without any admission of the principle of State intervention on their behalf.

20. THOUGHT CHANGES FOLLOWING 1847.

During the twenty years which followed 1847 no Factory Act of first-class importance was passed with the exception of the modifying Acts of 1850 and 1853. But though legislation was practically stationary thought was moving on. Hitherto legislation had been inspired by benevolence and aimed at protecting the interests of weak and helpless classes. But working-men were becoming more extensively organized and were thinking for themselves and, gradually, combined discussion and collective bargaining between labour and capital, joint and more or less friendly endeavours to find equitable solutions to problems, took the place of the older philanthropic atmosphere. Women too, in those industries in which their labour was protected, had bene-

fited by improved conditions and were becoming increasingly capable of forming opinions of their own and of realizing the power of association.

21. EDUCATED WOMEN INTERVENE.

And now it is that we must pause and have before us the last actors, those who have come to play so large a part in the still-unfinished arena—the educated women. They enter the industrial arena in the seventies as an indirect political influence. As we see them before us the dust of battle is upon them and its wounds are upon the spirits of some of their number. Women have already founded colleges and promoted the opening of schools, thus by their own efforts and insistence winning back a right of which they had been deprived. They have recovered the right to exercise a Municipal Vote (1869), and obtained that of sitting on School Boards (1870). They are about to be admitted as inspectors of workhouses (1874), and as poor law guardians (1875); and, moreover the married among them had obtained the control of their own wages and earnings (1869). They have been one and all promoters of the movement for what were then called comprehensively “Women’s Rights.” They are naturally imbued with the individualistic and liberal doctrines of Liberty of their great champion, John Stuart Mill. Many of them are animated by a spirit of grievance against man, and they have some cause. They have clamoured for an outlet for their energies and powers and for a fuller and freer life—and for long in vain. The men of the middle classes, to which most of them belonged, were with few exceptions intensely conservative where their women were concerned, and excessively jealous of any infringement on their monopoly of professional and commercial life.

In the middle classes women are but rarely owners of property, real or personal, as are the women of the highest class. In cases in which they were, no advantage accrued to married women before the passing of the Married Women’s Property Act of 1882. In these

classes men were in the early half of the last century practically the sole creators of wealth and its sole administrators. Their sense of social distinctions was great, and their thoughts concerning the women of their class were enclosed in a water-tight compartment. They took a real pride in the undeveloped and dependent condition of their women, as one which raised them clean above the classes below them. Thus the middle class woman in her struggle for improved conditions had to fight against a false philosophy about her position which was peculiar to her class. Those whose studies go back to the earlier days of the woman's rights claims and who recall the bitterness of the struggle will have little difficulty in understanding how a note of "sex-antagonism" introduced itself into the movement.

22. THEIR CHAMPIONSHIP BASED ON A FALLACY.

These educated women then come into the drama full of a sense of sex solidarity and eager to be the champions of their oppressed sisters in all classes. But their long exclusion from public life was a heavy handicap on their judgment, and their doctrinaire theories of liberty were no substitute for first-hand knowledge of the lives and thoughts of working women. They imagined a similar state of things to exist in the labouring classes as that which pertained to their own. They were convinced that working men were anxious to drive women from the labour market, and in the light of this belief they read the history of factory legislation.

But no such antagonism existed. The conditions were totally different. No one questioned the working-class woman's right to work, only a few had questioned her right to over-work. She was not the victim of oppressive restrictions but of exploitation. But these educated champions of the working woman, hypersensitized to injustice by their own experience, restricted in outlook by their lack of knowledge, saw only in the inclusion of "women" together with young persons and children in the Factory Acts an infraction of their liberty. They argued that

they should be treated as the equals of man and therefore be considered capable of deciding for themselves how long they should labour.¹ They seem to have believed that the men's Unions had used their influence to obtain shorter hours for women from motives of jealousy in order to render their competition harmless, and that they hoped to deprive them of the right to work and therefore to enslave them. It was further argued that it was unjust to legislate away the liberty of an unenfranchised class. All very plausible, but as we know now the facts were against them. Men had fought not to exclude women but to secure with them a common advantage.

23. THE EXTENT OF THEIR INFLUENCE.

This Women's Rights party worked through its spokesmen in Parliament and by means of its influence over women's unions, and worked unceasingly in order to extricate the adult of their sex from being associated in legislation with young persons and children.

In those industries to which the Factory Acts had been applied for the preceding thirty or forty years the position of women had become immeasurably better than in those where "freedom" still pertained. The women were healthier and happier, they were organized, and had developed opinions of their own strongly in favour of the Factory Acts. Happily the Women's Rights agitation working, though unconsciously, in a retrograde sense, was powerless to affect the big industries. These champions of theoretic rights fought valiant rearguard actions, but, as facts came to light and knowledge increased, one argument after another had to be abandoned and one intellectual position after another left intact, but there was always a stand to be made on the case of the liberty of the individual *versus* State intervention. At last some undefended ground was found which they could occupy.

¹ A similar position was taken up by Feminists in France some twenty years later, doubtless inspired by English women, see *Initiatives Féminines*, chap. iv., Max Turmann.

24. THEIR SUCCESS A DISASTER TO THE SWEATED WORKER.

It had been discovered that the conditions of work for the home worker were even worse than those which had once obtained in factories and workshops. A proposal to bring the woman worker in domestic workshops under the protection of legislation was brought forward (1874) in connexion with a Bill then under discussion. It was a moment when an effective deathblow could have been struck at sweated industries. The home-workers were weak, scattered, ignorant, without leisure to think or the spirit to struggle. The middle-class women at last scored a victory for their theories by securing the exclusion of home workers from the Bill. Thus, all unwittingly were the wrongs of one class avenged at the expense of another, and thus triumphed a false conception of liberty. Such a triumph can only be temporary for in the long run facts prevail against theories from which they are divorced. But the confusion which has been introduced into the problems of woman's labour is not yet at an end. It did not dawn upon these reformers that God had rights which were threatened by excessive hours of toil. They could not see that to respect these was also to secure the rights of the individual.

Having now followed the history of industrial legislation to a point which illustrates the principle that woman's inalienable right to independence of personality and the free exercise of her spiritual faculties is the basis of her claim to justice in all spheres, we can leave the subject and consider some modern feminist tenets.

25. THE NEED OF CLEAR DEFINITIONS.

The volume of influence exercised by educated women has grown and is to-day enormous and inspired by excellent intentions, but the Catholic who wishes to join hands with their endeavours is embarrassed by the absence of any clear definition of moral principles with which to agree or from which to dissent. Again where workers, though professedly Christian, are quite untrained in an ethical

code, it seems inevitable that their very eagerness in the search for truth should lead to an utter confusion of mind as to what constitutes a commandment and what a counsel of perfection.

In the matter of principles the non-catholic worker seems all the while to be standing upon shifting sand. And again in the detailed application of an Act based upon a principle which is sound, Catholics are constantly confronted with attempts to introduce irrelevant propaganda into the work. For in fact, "liberty" has to-day come to be understood as freedom to act according to inclination, and "freedom of thought" to embrace any attractive theory which commends itself at the moment. When reform coincides with moral law it is found to work and to promote real liberty; when it is not in accordance it does not work even on a material plane. For instance when the struggle for "woman's rights" dealt only with her relationship to man and not also with the relationship of both to God, it expended itself over a false theory of liberty. And the difference of these two attitudes, the one which includes a divinely instituted law and the one which does not, is the vital difference which separates social workers.

26. SOME MODERN VIEWS ON THE PROBLEM OF MARRIED WOMEN'S WORK.

We can illustrate this by examining the confusion of thought manifested in the controversy over the work of married women. There are those who regard the subject only from the point of view of the State and the need for securing "healthy citizens" (a hard-worked term just now) and who would further any legislation tending to secure these. There are again those who hold that the women themselves should decide the extent of their labour, each one for herself, and that to deprive her of the right of choice is an infringement of her liberty and an attack on her dignity. These argue, that quite apart from the necessity which drives married women to supplement the insufficient earnings of their husbands and deprives

them of any freedom of choice, lies a question of principle. It is urged that there is a type of women, to be found in all classes, which has no taste for domestic work and child-rearing, which is gifted in other ways but which is yet capable of producing healthy children. Women of this type in the upper classes, it is contended, follow their inclination and hire "skilled experts" (another very favourite phrase) to supply their place in the home without incurring censure by so doing. Why, it is asked, should we deny to working-class women a liberty of choice accorded to the well-to-do? Champions of this supposed "right" dream of a day when science and a communal spirit shall have practically emptied the home of labour and indeed of family-life itself by the supply of communal kitchens, washhouses, etc., etc. These views will be found in a little book just published¹ which embodies the Report of an inquiry into the subject undertaken by the Women's Industrial Council. Incidentally, we find that one or two of the investigators employed on this work used the opportunity for canvassing the opinion of the women on the subject of increased facilities for divorce. And indeed, in those who hold that moral laws are determined by the ballot, such supplementary zeal is easily understood.

27. THE CATHOLIC ATTITUDE.

How are we Catholics to view the question of married women's work in the light of our principles? To begin with, these principles define the area of woman's liberty. She is free to choose between married and single life, but if she chooses married life she is not free to play fast and loose with its duties and obligations. The family is a divinely instituted society, and it is instituted for the rearing of children who should be not only "healthy citizens" of this world, but heirs to immortality. For the perfect fulfilment of this task the care and devotion of both parents is necessary and during the infancy of children the constant supervision of the mother is needful.

¹ *Married Women's Work*, Bell & Sons. Edited by Clementina Black.

28. INFANT WELFARE.

Here we may pause to consider a modern movement closely bearing on this subject. It originated in France, latterly so exercised in mind over her fallen birth rate, but took root with us in 1907 and has since then rapidly developed. It may be comprehensively described as the movement for infant welfare, and its primary object the preservation of infant life. It includes such developments as "Schools for Mothers," "Baby Clubs," "Infant Consultations," milk depots, cheap or free dinners for expectant and nursing mothers, health visitors, etc.

On the passing of the Notification of Births Act of 1907 many local authorities appointed health visitors whose duty it was to visit the mothers of the newly born and by advice and instruction tactfully given, enlighten any ignorance as to infant nurture which they might find. In 1908 the London County Council legalized these appointments, subject to regulations to be made by the Local Government Board, and in 1911 these appointments were legalized in the Provinces. At the same time the experiment of "Schools for Mothers" was made in several centres. Attached to these "schools," which were established in some suitable room either in connection with another work or independently, were for the most part a medical officer and a superintendent (usually a trained nurse). The mothers of the district were invited to bring their babies at regular and stated times, that they might be examined, weighed, and any mistakes in their nurture or clothing detected and rectified. The carrying out of the instructions given was to be supervised by the Health Visitor to the Home. There are now in this country over 200 of such centres, varying in detail, but alike in general aim and character. It became apparent to those thus brought in closer contact with the maternity problems in poor districts that if infant life was to have a fair chance, many of the mothers must be better fed, and that pure milk must be brought within the reach of the poor. Hence cheap or free dinners to expectant and nursing mothers and municipal milk supplies were instituted. The movement received an impetus in 1911 by

the founding of the National League for Physical Education, which enthusiastically set to work to promote adequate milk supplies, etc. There is every reason for Catholic co-operation with this movement, subject to that watchfulness with which we can never dispense. Over and above the preservation of life and the raising of the standard of health, the movement tends to keep the mother in the home and thus to preserve family life. By providing necessitous cases with nourishing food for three months before and nine after the birth of a child, the mother is not driven to the factory or the workshop, and the child is breast fed.

29. SOME DANGERS.

But there is a danger against which Catholics—and indeed all moral people—are obliged to guard, and one which very well illustrates the difficulties often encountered by Catholic workers. Enthusiasts for physical culture are often enthusiasts for new moralities. Health visitors and consultants can easily introduce their personal convictions, such as the expediency of artificially limiting a family, with other advice, and when in contact with weakly or very poor parents may be strongly prompted to do so from feelings of pity. Where possible Catholics should establish their own Welcomes (the Catholic Women's League has already opened several ¹), and where this is not possible should see that their own Health Visitors are attached to other "Welcomes" for the purpose of visiting Catholic homes. A Catholic "Welcome" is also a means of combining physical with moral instruction, and of helping the mother not only to rear the child's body, but to train its soul.

The question of the work of married women, when the children no longer need their care in the home, is in another category, and it is no infringement of Catholic principle if a mother chooses to work in order to provide a better education for her growing sons and daughters. Her primary duties have been already fulfilled. The feelings

¹ In Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Leeds, etc.

of married working women generally appear to be sound enough. The mother instinct is strong in them, in the great majority of cases they deplore the necessity to work outside the home. This very recent book upon the question is evidence, if any were needed, that educated women workers are still endeavouring to indoctrinate the proletariat with their cherished conception of liberty. Against this nothing effective can be done but to endeavour to convert them to the true doctrine.

It is true that from necessity the best of Christian mothers may be obliged to leave her young children in the crèche or with a neighbour and go out to work. But this necessity is born of evils which it should be the aim of reformers to remove, and it is no more than accidental. While the evil of insufficient wages remains, it is only right to work for the mitigation of its effects on the married woman worker ; but this must be done without losing sight of the need to remove the evil itself.

30. EQUALITY VERSUS IDENTITY OF TREATMENT.

There is danger that the fallacy of identity of treatment may come to be accepted by democracy to a point which is harmful to women's interests, and may find expression in legislation. For instance, there is a growing tendency to assume that able-bodied men and (unmarried) women between specified ages are all equally capable of being wage-earners. This surely is only true, if at all, in the class strictly called "working." That is to say, the class from which the state removes the most burdens from the individual and in which the family group is reckoned as consisting of parents and young children only, the exigencies of bread-winning precluding any other. But when we consider the classes which form a graduated scale from the labouring class up to that which enjoys enough inherited property to exempt its women from the task of self-support, the facts are not in accord with theories of equality. Unmarried women are not all equally with men potential wage earners. The aged and the sick of the extended family group fall to their care in the home.

Often the women devoted to this service will either inherit nothing or the slenderest of portions, and will very likely only be relieved of their duties at a comparatively advanced age. Such a woman between the ages of 50 and 70 can hardly be counted a skilled wage earner. It is difficult to see how the need of such service in the home will diminish, and we know that it is exclusively woman's service. Quite often, too, a woman already embarked on a self-supporting career is obliged to abandon it for some years in order to undertake the personal care of aged parents, and is not again able to take it up under advantageous circumstances. Such work is, of course, necessary to society, and is in accordance with natural affection and Christian charity, but equally of course, it is unremunerated. Now, if women claim equal justice as distinct from identity of treatment, there are occasions when this can only be arrived at by dealing with their case separately. For instance, special treatment might have been accorded to women circumstanced as we have described when it was a question of increasing the death duties on inherited property.

31. NEED OF DEFINING FIRST PRINCIPLES.

Unfortunately social workers of different schools of Christian thought are driven to trying to work together on the practical plane alone, because each is silent about the principles which lie beneath, about which they may be very tenacious but of which they do not speak from motives of tact, and for fear that even a superficial union might cease to exist if they did. This state of things is very unreal, and is a source of weakness to Christian society. There is a real need of definite discussion of first principles. When such discussions take place, it is not too much to hope that a large number of women belonging to the various religious bodies in this country will reconsider some of the alliances they have formed for the sake of a theoretic Feminism, and the concessions of Christian principles which they have made for lack of a sound ethical grounding. It is perhaps natural that those who hold that private

judgment and individual conscience are the supreme arbiters of truth should dread argument as the sure occasion of perpetual quarrels. But to cultivate a merely superficial harmony is not the way to arrive at truth. If discussion is desirable, it is no less desirable that it should be based upon such accurate information as will remove misunderstandings. Therefore the most valuable contribution which we Catholic women can make to the woman question is to endeavour to make known the principles upon which we base our Feminism.

CHAPTER V

INTERNATIONALIZED FEMINISM

(REVOLUTIONARY AND CHRISTIAN)

So long as Feminism confined its action within national boundaries, it did not always stand out clearly in the eyes of a superficial observer as a definite movement, or at any rate as a movement which involved a definite philosophy. Its claims were sometimes closely interwoven with demands for more general reforms, it was often forced to be opportunist in tactics and allied with, or opposed to, a particular political party. But as soon as Feminism became internationalized and common ground for world-wide action was sought for, it became more clearly separated as a movement, and we now cannot fail to recognize that there are two distinct kinds of Feminism, the one based upon Christianity, the other upon revolt against revealed religion.

1. THE ROOT OF FEMINISM.

It is true, as Max Turmann points out in his *Initiatives Féminines*,¹ that Christian inspiration lies at the root of all Feminism, that it has only sprung up spontaneously in those civilizations which have been built upon Christianity, and that its legitimate aspirations are a consistent growth from the original seed of woman's moral and spiritual equality. But if the original seed from which all Feminism springs is of Christian origin, it cannot be too strongly insisted on that it has often germinated and developed in a poisoned soil.

The legitimate claims of the movement have been well defined by M. l'abbé Naudet in *Pour la Femme* as constitut-

¹ *Initiatives Féminines*, by Max Turmann, page 4. Victor Lecoffre.

ing a demand for certain rights which are ignored by law, and for an equitable social position which is refused by society.

2. WHY IT DEVELOPED OUTSIDE THE CHURCH'S INFLUENCE.

It may naturally be asked, why, if Feminism is a Christian growth, has it developed first and so vigorously outside the direct influence of the Catholic Church, and why did an organized Catholic Feminism only spring into existence when it became of urgent necessity to counteract the anti-Christian and demoralizing elements at work in the revolutionary section of the movement? Can we not find some explanation in the following considerations? The Catholic women of any country, even if for one reason or another they have been poorly educated or have been living under irksome social restrictions, have never been deprived of an essential moral liberty, and have therefore never had occasion to experience that soul-suffering, which is more intolerable than any suffering of a more superficial nature, and which infallibly in the long run drives those who experience it to seek for a remedy. Again, if we separate practical action from theoretic Feminism, we shall find that Catholic women have always been engaged in energetic and sustained social work, both as members of the great religious orders and as lay women. Finally, we may find reasons why the social work of Catholics may not always have kept pace with increasing scientific knowledge (although in soul-knowledge or psychology it has always led the way), in the modern anti-Christian persecutions in certain countries, and in the capture of the Universities by a secularist spirit. For this reason Catholic women have long been debarred from frequenting them, and have almost of necessity led a somewhat segregated life while cultivating a spirit of loyalty to the past.

3. PROGRESS IN THE ABSENCE OF THEORETIC FEMINISM.

But in illustration of the undoubted fact that in despite of the absence of theoretic Feminism in a Christian country, its

women may yet in some respects hold there a better position than in one where it is highly developed, take the case of Belgium. There, where the Code Napoleon is in force (a code which gives to women a very inferior position to that which they now hold in English law) and where revolutionary Feminism has obtained only a slight hold, there was to be found before the tragedy of 1914 a far more developed training for women in agriculture, in domestic science and for technical employments than is yet arrived at in this country. The great Agricultural College at Hevelé, near Louvain, directed by a religious order of women, and State-aided, is probably the best of its kind in existence. And so developed was women's share in the agriculture of the country that already in 1909 a second great Congress of Women Farmers was held in Namur, at which forty-one associations were represented and nearly 600 delegates were present.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

But to return to the International side of the movement, it is not surprising to find that the initiative came from the women of the English-speaking races. Among these, Feminism had permeated most widely as part of the national life and had not been at that date characterized by extravagance or violence. English women have a capacity for and love of organization, and as members of an Empire comprising races in various stages of development, have a share in that attitude of mind which conceives itself as under a moral obligation to diffuse a civilizing influence. With these ideas American women were in close sympathy. Accordingly in 1888, a meeting of delegates from various Feminist societies was convened at Washington, and the International Council of Women was brought into existence under the presidency of Mrs. Fawcett. Five years later, in 1903, its first Congress was held in Chicago, and from that date Congresses have been held every five years and the movement has spread rapidly. At the present time the National Councils of twenty-two

countries are affiliated in the International Council.¹ Of these sixteen represent European countries, the National Council of Republican Portugal being the latest addition (1914), and the remainder represent North and South America and the English-speaking colonies.

5. ITS AIMS.

In the preamble to the Constitution of the Council we read :—

“ We women of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and of the State, do hereby band ourselves in a confederation of workers to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law, ‘ Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.’ ”

No hint is given as to how unity of thought is to be arrived at or upon what it is to be based. Apparently, the dream was that the enthusiasm of all and the labours of all were to form a common fund for the use of all.² Undoubtedly an increased energy would be generated and a

¹ In England the National Union of Women Workers is affiliated with the International Council of Women and probably represents the most Christian element in it. The present corresponding secretary of the Council, 1915, is Dr. Phil Alice Salomon, Neue Ausbacher-strasse 7, Berlin W. 50.

² The objects of the Council are further stated in the Constitution as—

(a) To provide a means of communication between women's organizations in all countries.

(b) To provide opportunities for women to meet together from all parts of the world to confer upon questions relating to the welfare of the commonwealth, the family, and the individual.

Some difficulties were evidently foreseen as likely to arise from the divergent opinions represented, for under *General Policy* we read : “ This International Council is organized in the interests of no one propaganda, and has no power over its members beyond that of suggestion and sympathy ; therefore no National Council voting to become a member of the International Council shall render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or shall be committed to any principle or method of any International Council beyond compliance with the terms of this Constitution.

good deal of practical knowledge diffused by means of these representative gatherings. Moreover, they would in themselves constitute an object lesson on the intellectual development of women which has been arrived at by means of higher education, on their earnestness and on their power of organization. In fact, the whole thing would work excellently if there were no such thing as underlying principles, and if a state of enthusiasm could be maintained without its being in any way based upon convictions.

6. CO-OPERATION ON AN UNDENOMINATIONAL BASIS.

The mental attitude defined upon paper as "undenominational" has no existence in the human mind; the nearest approach to it is indifference. Below all sustained enthusiasms lie strong convictions.

It is true that in this country we have arrived at some success in holding "undenominational" assemblies by temporarily separating the practical aspects of subjects from their basic philosophies, and by practising a courteous restraint when it is necessary to refer to the religious beliefs of other bodies, but this ideal is only arrived at when there are some *fundamental* beliefs which are held in common by all the parties represented. When violent sectarianism is present (and the anti-religious spirit is both sectarian and violent) the practice of tactful accommodation, in order to achieve results on the practical plane, becomes an impossibility. In any mixed assembly the energetic members of a particular school of thought, profiting by the timidity or want of acumen in others, easily gain an ascendancy and soon attempt to dominate the whole meeting. Before long such an "undenominational" gathering cannot fail to appear what it really is, a gathering of exceedingly denominational persons, all striving under an appearance of fair play to further the causes which they have at heart. Of such "undenominational" material is the International Council of Women composed. It is necessary to bear in mind that the Anglo-Saxon conception of "undenominational" courtesy is too frequently replaced, on the Continent, by the ideal of a free assembly in which any

one may assail the most cherished beliefs of another because that other has the right of retaliation. In order to understand that some of the debates of the Council have already borne testimony to the presence of mutually destructive creeds, let us examine the character of three of the constituent nation Councils.

7. FRANCE.

(a) *Revolutionary Feminism.* In France, Feminism was born of the Revolution, and in its earliest phases was anti-Christian and had a full share of the extravagances and eccentricities which usually characterize the beginning of a ferment of new ideas. At first the movement consisted largely of leaders without a following, but from 1848 onwards Feminism gained some hold upon the more liberal sections of the public, and numerous small intellectual Feminist coteries sprang up. In 1870 a society and "Association pour l'Emancipation progressive des femmes" was founded—which was quickly followed by others. During the twenty years following 1874, Mdlle Maria Deraisme, who was in close sympathy with the Republican Opportunist party, figured as the principal leader of Revolutionary Feminism. Gradually various societies closely corresponding to contemporary political groups were organized, among which that of *L'Avant Courrière* was the most moderate and conservative in character.¹ But the group which claimed most public attention and whose fame spread to other countries was that of *La Fronde*, which was violently anti-religious in character and was possessed of a daily organ bearing that name—this fact will show how numerous the adherents of this school had become. The spread of a sane and moderate Feminism in France was retarded by the scandal too frequently given by the women constituting this wing of the movement.

(b) *Christian Feminism.* In 1896, Mdlle Maugeret, the first French woman to conceive of a broad Feminist move-

¹ Several modifications of injustices in laws relating to women have been secured by the women's societies which were closely allied to the governing party in France.

ment based upon a solid Christian foundation, started a monthly magazine, *Le Féminisme Chrétien*, which, equally with its flourishing antagonist *La Fronde*, was entirely printed by women. In its pages Mdlle Maugeret, undismayed by the difficulty of her task, set to work to separate the gold from the dross of the Feminist movement, and to urge a similar Catholic movement as an urgent need for the preservation of Christian society. She did ample justice to the ability and sincerity of those who were her opponents in the moral sphere, and was deeply impressed by the great power for good or evil which a higher education had placed in the hands of women. In 1900, she founded the *Fédération Jeanne d'Arc*, an affiliation of existing Catholic Women's Societies, which held its first Congress in that year and was presided over by the Archbishop of Paris and largely attended by members of the French hierarchy. At this Congress Mdlle Maugeret, by her earnestness and eloquence, succeeded in converting her audience to her views, and from that day a widespread Catholic Feminist Movement may be said to have dated. In 1900 was also founded by Madame Chenu *L'Action Sociale de la Femme*, directly educative in aim and concerned with the promotion of sound thinking on industrial and social questions. In 1901, *La Ligue des Femmes Françaises* was started, with the aim of attaining national proportions, but in 1902 there separated from this League under the title of *La Ligue patriotique des Femmes Françaises*¹ those members who were convinced that more modern weapons than those which found general acceptance among the "Femmes Françaises," must be used in the struggle against moral anarchy which lay before Catholic Feminists. The members of the new *Ligue patriotique des Françaises*, with immense energy, undertook public speaking, canvassing at elections in the interests of Religion, and a whole host of activities directed to the creation of an army of women able in the defence of the Faith in which alone a permanent

¹ *Ligue Patriotique des Françaises*, 368 Rue St. Honoré, Paris. This League grew so rapidly that in a few years it had spread over the greater part of France and numbered over 500,000 members.

progressive Feminism could be rooted. It was precisely in the year 1900 that the Revolutionary groups of Feminists, which for years had been in touch with the movement in other countries, formed a National Council and joined the International Council of Women.

8. GERMANY.

(a) The Feminist Movement in Germany first developed among Protestant women of liberal tendencies, led by the more revolutionary spirits among them. In 1897 German women Feminists formed a national society and affiliated to the International Council. As early as 1885 *Woman in the Past, Present and Future*,¹ by the Socialist leader Bebel, first appeared, since when up to the present time numerous editions have been issued which corresponded with the development of the author's ideas. This book is anti-Christian, unscholarly, unscientific and totally lacking in refinement, but it is vigorously written and calculated to appeal to the half-educated and those not equipped for a detection of the errors and fallacies with which it bristles. It undoubtedly both directly and indirectly contributed to the spread of revolutionary Feminism,

(b) As a consequence of this propaganda, a forcible Catholic literature upon the subject of Feminism began to develop, and the first edition of *Der Frauenfrage*, by P. Augustine Rösler, C.S.S.R., appeared in 1895—the enlarged edition of which (1907) remains the standard authority on the world-wide development of the movement. Catholic women also began to organize. In 1895, the great Catholic Teachers' Association, the Lehrerinnenverein, had been founded by a woman. German Universities are *interdenominational* (as distinct from *undenominational*), and from the year 1898, members of Religious Orders of Women followed University courses. In 1902, the

¹ An English translation of an early edition constitutes Vol. I of the International Library of Social Science, and circulates among various Socialist and Feminist groups in this country. For a thorough refutation of its contents see *Bebel's "Woman in the Past, Present and Future,"* by Rev. W. McMahon, S.J., Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge Road, London. 1d.

Charitasverband (an association of Women's societies) published a monthly magazine *Die Christliche Frau*, and in 1903, the Lehrerinnenverein issued another monthly organ *Mädchenbildung*.

But the year 1904 was the momentous one in German Feminism, for it was then that the third Congress of the International Council was held in Berlin, and caused a sensation equally by the ability and energy displayed on the intellectual plane and the confusion on that of ethics. True to its dream of undenominational union the Council endeavoured to secure the sympathy of Catholics, and many attended the meetings of this Congress. The painful impression made upon them and upon the Catholic body generally was deep enough to inspire immediate action, and in the autumn of the same year the Catholic Frauenbund was called into existence at the direct instigation of the Catholic hierarchy.

It is noteworthy that while in France women took the initiative in promoting a Christian Feminism, and obtained the concurrence of the Bishops in the movement, in Germany it was the Bishops who urged upon women the need of national organization.

9. ITALY.

In Italy the history of the growth of the two camps of Feminism has followed more closely on the lines of those of France, except that Italian Catholics had never quite lost the old tradition of University education for women; and even after the secularizing of the Universities a certain number of practising Catholics continued to attend them side by side with women of liberal tendencies. Various local Feminist societies came into existence in the latter part of the last century, more frequently among women of free-thinking and Socialist tendencies, but some definitely Catholic groups were also formed. In 1900 a Catholic Feminist organ appeared, *L'Azione Muliebre*; but for some years the antagonistic tendencies latent in the whole movement were not very clearly accentuated in Italy. In 1901 the Liberal element formed a National Council of

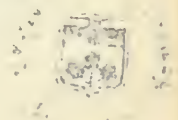
women and joined the International group—a step which led to a great development of feminine energy.

The fateful year of demarcation was that of 1908, when the Italian National Council of women held a Congress in Rome. Numbers of Catholics followed the proceedings, which were attended with great éclat. Enthusiasm was contagious, and it is not quite certain how it came about—probably heads were not sufficiently clear—but numbers of Catholic members of the Congress appeared to have voted for resolutions without quite realizing their nature. Anyhow they were on the morrow somewhat crestfallen to find they had assisted in passing a resolution for abolishing religious instruction in schools, and had smiled upon a project for erecting a statue to Salvatore Morelli, the apostle of free love. The pages of *L'Azione Muliebre* for that year were filled with lamentation and anxiety for the future, but those of the *Vita Femile Italiana*, a magazine started in 1907, which reflects the undenominational ideals dear to the International Council, sang a pæan of triumph. Women were proclaimed in its pages as beginning at last to exercise their minds. Of course it, too, wanted the continuance of religious instruction in schools, but in a form so broad as to be equally acceptable to Mohammedans, Jews, Buddhists, etc., etc. ! It was but too evident that Catholic women needed organizing and educating if they were to enter on a wider life without disaster. Accordingly in 1909 *L'Unione fra le Donne Catholiche Italiane* came into existence and rapidly spread its branches throughout Italy.

10. CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.

Enough has been said to make it no matter of surprise that new-born Catholic Feminism early turned its thoughts towards an International Federation.

From the first the *Ligue patriotique des Françaises* had hoped for this, and their hopes were shared by every league as it came into existence. Catholic Women's Leagues had developed rapidly—that of England in 1905 ; Austria, 1907 ; Switzerland, 1908, etc. etc.



In August 1910 a meeting was held in Brussels convened by the *Ligue patriotique des Françaises*, supported by *L'Action Sociale de la Femme*, which was attended by delegates from leagues established in Austria, Belgium, Brazil, England, France, Germany, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Uruguay. Letters of encouragement and approval were received from Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, and from the Archbishop of Paris. When reports of the aims and activities of all the societies represented had been read, it was found that they shared in common a recognition of the fact that the danger of the hour was primarily an intellectual danger, against which Catholic women must prepare by a solid and wide education both for self-defence and for apostolic work—that the duty of those women capable of becoming leaders lay in preparing themselves as public speakers, lecturers, etc., in order to bring help to those most exposed to the dangerous propaganda of revolutionary Feminism. It was seen that it was rapidly becoming a question of saving whole classes to Christianity. Even if this may have appeared at the time a somewhat alarmist diagnosis of the situation, it will not be found so now that the extent of the spread of anti-Christian ideas has been revealed by the European War.

11. UNION OF CATHOLIC WOMEN'S LEAGUES EFFECTED.

At this first meeting in Brussels it was resolved to form an International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, and a code of statutes was tentatively drawn up. Subsequent meetings have been held in Madrid, 1911; Vienna, 1912; and London, 1913—and at these the Constitution of the Union was further considered and plans of study and schemes of activity matured. In the Autumn of 1913, the completed Constitution was approved by Pius X, and the International Union became firmly established. The suppression of the White Slave traffic was chosen as the principal subject for a conference which should have been held in Cracow in 1915.¹

¹ Information concerning *L'Union Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines* can be obtained from the office of the Catholic Women's League, 116 Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Who will venture to forecast the future, or predict the date by which the wounds of war will have healed sufficiently to allow of another International Meeting? But this we can assert with confidence, that Catholic Feminism will be more determined than ever in urging forward the pre-eminent importance of a study of the aims which underlie the Feminist movement, and in demonstrating the abortive nature of all "progress" which is not based upon sound principles.

Finally, to sum up, Christian Feminism seeks to build upon Christian principles and to discover for women a wider scope for the development and exercise of their powers in conformity with these, and thus to procure for them a greater share of justice in social life. Revolutionary Feminism, founded on a claim to equality of the sexes and freedom for complete self-realization for the individual, is seeking to make a new path and is convinced that whatever seems to obstruct this work stands, for that reason, condemned, whether it be revealed religion or traditional morality.

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